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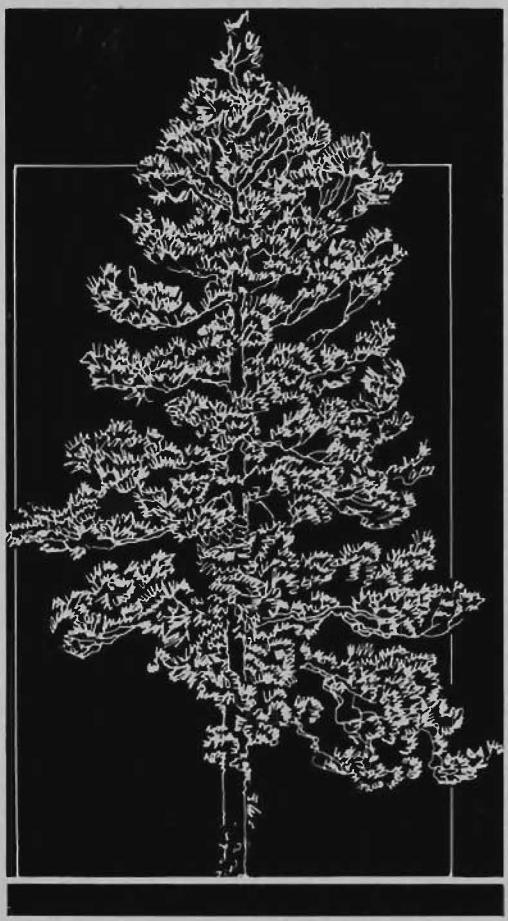

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HASINAI-EUROPEAN INTERACTION, 1694-1715[1]

by Daniel A. Hickerson

Spanish withdrawal and retrenchment, 1694-1709

The first Spanish missionary effort in East Texas began in 1690 with the arrival of a small party that left among the Hasinai Indians three Franciscan priests, accompanied by three soldiers.[2] The missionization of the Hasinai was undertaken as a reaction to the occupation of the Texas Gulf coast by the French explorer Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle during the 1680s. Despite an optimistic beginning, the Spaniards were forced to abandon their mission only three years later when the hostility of the Hasinai compelled them to flee. The Hasinai, who initially welcomed the Europeans, had suffered a series of severe epidemics for which they correctly blamed the Spaniards. They were further angered by the priests' persistent attempts to convert them to Catholicism, as well as the failure of the Spanish soldiers to aid them in battles against the Apaches and other enemies.[3]

After the retreat from the East Texas mission in 1693, the Spanish had little direct documented contact with the Hasinai for more than two decades. For most of this period there is little evidence of what was taking place in eastern Texas. After their initial failures, both Spain and France seem to have lost interest in Texas temporarily. This lack of activity has led to the perception that these were, in the words of historian Carlos Castaneda, "silent years" in the history of Texas.[4] It was not until after 1715, when the French trader and adventurer Louis Juchereau de St. Denis appeared unexpectedly at a Spanish settlement on the Rio Grande, that the territory of the Hasinai was reoccupied officially by Europeans.

This appearance of inactivity from eastern Texas is deceiving. Although the historical record may contain little direct documentation of the Hasinai during this period, these two decades were anything but silent. Contact did take place between the Hasinai and Europeans, although on a less official, and thus less well documented, level. The French, in particular, began to make exploring and trading forays into Texas during this period. Far-reaching political and economic changes continued to take place, changes to which the Hasinai undoubtedly tried to adjust, to react, and to turn in their favor.

During the seventeenth century, the Hasinai had acquired Spanish goods and horses through trade. The primary source of these commodities was the Jumano Indians, traders who made regular journeys from the Spanish colonial settlements along the Rio Grande to the Hasinai villages of eastern Texas.[5] These regular trade connections to the south and west were broken sometime after the withdrawal of the Spanish missions, although it is likely that some goods and horses continued to make their way to the territory of the Hasinai from that direction through members of other Indian groups. After 1699, when the French constructed a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi River, new opportunities for trade were opened to the east because of French settlement, exploration, and trading activity in western Louisiana.[6] When the Spanish returned to eastern Texas in 1715, they found the Hasinai trading animal skins, Indian slaves, corn, horses, and livestock to the French in return for rifles and

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other goods, a commerce that the Spanish authorities attempted to eradicate, without success, for most of the eighteenth century.

Exactly when the trade connections with the Jumanos were broken is not certain. The last time that Jumanos are noted at or near the Hasinai territory in the historical record is in 1693, during the Salinas Varona expedition that travelled to eastern Texas to resupply the Spanish missions shortly before their abandonment.[7] Shortly after this time, Apache dominance of the southern plains apparently increased to the point that the annual trading expeditions became too hazardous to continue. The Jumanos' support of the Hasinai in their uprising against the Spanish soldiers and missionaries may also have strained their relationship with the Spaniards at Nueva Vizcaya, making problematic their access to, and subsequent trade in, Spanish goods.[8] These factors combined to cut off the Hasinai from the trade network of which they had been a part, probably by 1695, and almost certainly by 1700. The Jumano disappear completely from the historical record for several years. They eventually realigned themselves with their old enemies; when they reappear in the historical record two decades later, in 1716, they are described as allies of the Apaches and enemies of the Spaniards and the Hasinai.[9]

This is not to say that the Hasinai were left completely without a source of Spanish horses and trade goods, as well as information on happenings among the Spanish settlements. Even without the Jumanos, the Hasinai maintained their long-time alliances with many of the hunting and gathering tribes who lived to their south and southwest. These alliances were still in place more than two decades later. In a declaration given to Spanish authorities in 1715, St. Denis noted that to the south of the Hasinai "there is a multiplicity of nations allied with this one, which are well-governed according to the relationship that these Indians have with them."[10] And at the time of the reestablishment of the Spanish missions in 1716, Domingo Ramon noted that in addition to the Hasinai, the missions could "attract various and innumerable nations of Indians, friends of the Tejas, that I have had notice are in these parts."[11]

Following the setback created by the failure of their initial efforts in Texas, the Franciscans established several missions in northern Mexico, at or near the Rio Grande, beginning in 1698.[12] A few of the Spanish priests working in these missions maintained an interest in returning to the Hasinai. Principal among these was Father Francisco Hidalgo, who was among the missionaries who had fled East Texas in 1693. Hidalgo's efforts to bring about a return of the Spanish to eastern Texas proved pivotal in the reestablishment of the missions in 1716.[13]

Hidalgo and his colleagues in the Rio Grande missions remained informed of events among the Hasinai and probably maintained a sporadic communication with them, primarily through their contact with members of the Coahuiltecan tribes who lived and wandered in the territory from northeastern Mexico to central Texas.[14] Many of these were among the groups that had accompanied the Jumano on their journeys to the Hasinai during the previous decades. By 1700, the Hasinai evidently had direct interaction with French traders, who already had made inroads into their territory, and were in more indirect communication with the Spanish priests, who maintained an active interest in the Hasinai from their base at the missions along the Rio Grande.

French forays into eastern Texas began almost immediately after their occupation of the mouth of the Mississippi River in 1699. These expeditions had the initial purpose of making treaties of friendship with the Indian tribes and discovering the locations of mineral deposits that could be exploited. In March 1700, a party of twenty-two Canadians and seven Indians commanded by Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville and Louis de St. Denis reached the village of the Yatasi, Caddoan Indians who lived on the Red River, who told them where they could find the Hasinai and the closest Spanish settlements. Later the same year, a second expedition reached the Natchitoches and Kadohadachos on the Red River. More expeditions followed, and, according to Vito Alessio Robles, it is likely that the French of Louisiana had established regular contact with the Hasinai by 1704 or 1705.[15] St. Denis probably had spent several months among the Hasinai shortly before, according to his own account, he had made his initial journey to the Rio Grande.[16]

Spanish records suggest that such contact had been made several years before this time. In 1700 Father Diego de San Buenaventura y Salazar, the Franciscan priest in charge of the newly-founded Rio Grande missions, travelled from the Mission Santa Maria de los Dolores, in northern Nuevo Leon, to Mexico City to request aid and military protection for the Rio Grande missions.[17] Salazar was accompanied on this expedition by two Hasinai Indians who had come to the missions with news of French advances into Spanish territory for the purpose of establishing trade with the Indians. These two Hasinai Indians were to testify to the French intrusions before the Spanish authorities.

The Indians testified that Frenchmen had come to the village of the Nasoni, located at the northern end of Hasinai territory, and had given two rifles to the chief of the village in exchange for two horses. More ominously, from the point of view of the Spaniards, the French seemed prepared to settle permanently among the Kadohadacho on the Red River. They had built houses, and had brought with them "religious who are dressed like those of San Francisco [Franciscans]."[18] The two Hasinai stated that they had been sent to the Rio Grande missions by their uncle, the "Governor of the Tejas," to ask the Spanish to send priests and soldiers to settle at a place they called "The Three Crosses," which was on the banks of the San Marcos River, close to, but not within, Hasinai territory.[19] Salazar's requests for aid for the missions were approved by the Junta, or council, that heard his petition. Undoubtedly, the indication of French advances into the area had some impact on this decision. The request of the Indians for soldiers and missionaries was put off with a provision for an investigation into their claims.[20] Just as importantly, the presence of the two Indians on this expedition demonstrates that contact between the Hasinai and the Spanish could not have been completely cut off during this period.

There is little doubt that, as a result of their regular contact with the Spanish, the hunting-and-gathering tribes of central Texas and the Rio Grande valley were able to carry on some trade with the Hasinai in Spanish goods, horses, and livestock. As suggested by the testimony of the two Hasinai who accompanied Father Salazar, it was probably these horses and cattle, as well as grain and Indian slaves, that served as the principal commodities that the Hasinai traded to the French colonists in Louisiana during the first two

decades of the eighteenth century.[21] St. Denis noted in 1715 that the Hasinai possessed huge herds of "thousands of cows, bulls, horses, and mares, with which their fields are entirely covered."[22] While this claim was almost certainly an exaggeration, the herds of the Hasinai probably were sizeable. It was in part due to the need for livestock for the Louisiana colony that the governor of French Louisiana established contact with the Spanish on the Rio Grande.[23] It is likely that as the French colonial establishment grew, the colonists feared that their need for cattle and horses would outgrow the ability of the Hasinai and other Indians of the area to supply them. The colonial settlements of New Spain seemed to be a more direct source of these commodities as well as a potentially profitable trading partner for the French colonists.

The extent of the contact, direct or indirect, that took place between Spanish religious agents and the Hasinai in the years after the missions were abandoned is not clear, although it was almost certainly more frequent that the official documents indicate. Rumors of French activity in Louisiana, including occasional forays into Texas, reached the Franciscans, who made certain that they were passed on to Spanish political authorities in the hope that the East Texas missions would be reactivated, this time with a more effective military presence to protect them against both the French and hostile Indians. The missionaries evidently believed that the Hasinai would once again welcome them into their territory, despite the hostility that had forced the earlier retreat. The presence of the two Hasinai on Salazar's expedition to Mexico City suggests that they provided some degree of cooperation to the Spaniards. Some of the Coahuiltecans who frequented the Rio Grande missions also probably had suggested that the Caddoans would be receptive to a Spanish reoccupation of their lands.

The 1709 Olivares-Espinosa-Aguirre Expedition to the Colorado River

Thus it was with some optimism that Spanish authorities approved, and the priests planned, an expedition into Texas in 1709. The expedition was commanded by Pedro de Aguirre, with the assistance of Father Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares and Father Isidro Felix de Espinosa.[24] This expedition, like most of those undertaken by Spain in its colonial territory, had both a military and religious purpose. Reports of French forays into Texas once again increased, creating renewed fears of a threat to Spain's colonial borders. At the same time, the expectation that the Hasinai again would receive missionaries willingly is reflected in the preparation for this expedition. It had been rumored that the Hasinai had moved from their homeland along the Neches and Angelina rivers to the banks of what the Spanish called the San Marcos River, by which they probably meant the Colorado,[25] to be closer to the Spanish settlements along the Rio Grande, presumably to persuade them to reestablish the missions. The source of these rumors is not clear; they could have come from any of the Indians who frequented the Rio Grande missions. Whatever the source, the Spaniards almost certainly recalled the two Hasinai in Mexico City nine years earlier, who asked them to send priests to the banks of the same river.

The Spaniards were disappointed in the results of this expedition. The party, consisting of the two priests and fifteen soldiers, departed on April 5 from the San Juan Bautista mission, located on the southern bank of the Rio

Grande at present-day Guerrero, Coahuila.[26] On April 19, having reached the Colorado River where they hoped to find the Hasinai, the Spaniards instead were met by a party of approximately forty Yojuan Indians and a few individuals of other tribes. This group was led by the Yojuan chief Cantona, who according to Espinosa was "an Indian who knew the Spanish very well."[27] A larger group of Yojuan Indians camped several miles away.

Cantona was known to have been among the Hasinai, and was questioned closely concerning their whereabouts and intentions. Asked by the Spaniards "if it was true that they had abandoned their territory and come to the San Marcos [Colorado] River to settle it," Cantona responded "that the Hasinai Indians (also known as Tejas) were in their land where they always had lived and that they had not departed to settle in the place of which we had asked; that only some of them departed from it to hunt for bison meat on these banks of the Colorado River and its vicinity." And he said "that the Indian named Bernardino, who is a Tejas Indian who speaks Spanish, and who has been in Mexico and spent many years among the Spanish, was Governor of all the Tejas," and that Bernardino "is known to be very hostile to all matters of the faith, and could never be reduced to it."[28] It seemed clear to the Spaniards that they would not be welcomed by the Hasinai leader and his people.

Faced with this disappointing news, the Spanish party did not press any further toward the territory of the Hasinai, despite having been told by the Yojuanes that they were only three days' travel from their territory. Discouraged, running short on supplies, and lacking orders from their superiors that would have been necessary to advance further into Texas, they returned to Mission San Juan Bautista, arriving there on April 28. Before retreating the missionaries made one last attempt to contact the Hasinai. They persuaded Cantona to deliver to Bernardino a paper cross painted with ink that they had made, a symbol that they knew would be recognized by the Hasinai leader. Cantona was then to tell Bernardino and his people "that we had gone to seek them, and they they should come to the Rio Grande to our missions, since they knew where they were."[29] It is clear that the priests never received a response to this invitation.

The motives of Cantona and the veracity of his statements about the Hasinai and their chief are not clear, although historians have never questioned the truth of the information he gave to the Spaniards. For example, both Carlos Castaneda and, more recently, Donald Chipman note this incident briefly with little comment.[30] This may be in part because little is known about the Yojuanes. They seem to have been a fairly large group. According to the account of Espinosa, the Yojuanes that several members of the Spanish party encountered during a side trip to their main camp were quite numerous. However, although their presence is noted several times in the historical record, their identity or ethnic affiliation has not been determined satisfactorily.[31]

Nevertheless, the possibility should be noted that the Yojuan chief was trying to steer the Spaniards away from the Hasinai and that he may have been attempting to court the favor of the Spaniards toward his own people in the hope of establishing a military alliance and a source of trade goods. Although this is speculation, the circumstances of the encounter provide at least some support for it. Although the priests were in error about the move of the Hasinai

to the Colorado River, they probably had cause to think the Hasinai would be receptive to their overtures of renewed friendship. As previously noted, there was almost certainly some contact between the Spanish and the Caddoans. Even the last line of the message entrusted to Cantona reminding Bernardino that the Hasinai "knew where [the Rio Grande missions] were" suggests familiarity, given that those missions had been established several years after the Franciscans' abandonment of eastern Texas.

The actions of Cantona and his followers also suggest that they were hoping to establish an amicable relationship with the Spaniards. The Yojuanes and their companions were clearly well prepared for their encounter with the Franciscan priests, and seem to have anticipated the meeting. Father Espinosa noted in his diary that in their initial encounter near the banks of the Colorado River, Cantona and a group of the Indians arrived

> with a cross of cane, well crafted, and behind this Indian crucifix, three Indians, each one with an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, two of these painted, and the other an old print. And upon their arrival, they all made demonstrations of peace, some kneeling, and approaching the Spaniards and embracing them, which is their means of demonstrating their happiness with meeting those of whom they are fond.

It was just after this demonstration of friendship and faith, which was designed to win the favor of the priests, that Cantona delivered to the Spaniards his report detailing the continued hostility of the Hasinai, and particularly their leader, toward the Spanish and the Catholic religion. The Spaniards responded by presenting Cantona with a baton "with a tip of silver" to reward his demonstration of friendship, to encourage his peoples' conversion to Catholicism, and to symbolize his leadership. He made a prominent display of this baton upon his return to the camp where most of his people had remained to show "his Indians that the priests and Spaniards esteemed him much."[12]

The possibility that the Yojuanes were attempting to court the favor of the Spaniards does not necessarily imply that they were trying to deflect this favor from the Hasinai, or that they were in competition with them for trade and alliance with the Spanish. But it does seem apparent that Cantona and his followers were attempting to demonstrate a clear contrast between their own friendship and receptivity toward the Catholic religion and the hostility and faithlessness of the Hasinai. It should be noted also that when the Yojuanes next appear in the historical record, upon the return of the Spanish to the Hasinai in 1716, they are listed as being among the enemies who "encircled to the north" and harassed the Hasinai, as well as the newly reestablished Spanish missions.[13] Franciscan missionary priest and historian Father Isidro Felix de Espinosa later noted that around 1714, the Yojuanes, who he also now describes as enemies of the Hasinai, had attacked and burned the fire temple and the house of the Conenesi, or spirit children, to whom the Hasinai regularly gave offerings and made petitions.[14] The possibility should be noted that the Yojuanes, by 1709, were in competition with the Hasinai for access to trade goods, for political and military alliances, and for a favored position in the regional political and economic system. If this is the case, then it is also likely that the Hasinai chief Bernardino never received the painted cross and

message that Fathers Olivares and Espinosa expected Cantona to carry to him.

Hidalgo, San Denis, and the return to the Hasinai

Two individuals, one a Spanish missionary priest, Father Francisco Hidalgo, and the other a French explorer and trader, Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, have been credited as the principal figures who engineered the return of the Spanish to eastern Texas. Numerous historical accounts of this fascinating episode in the colonial period of this region have described in detail the actions of these two persons and the effect that they had on the policies of Spain and France on the frontier between the two colonial territories.[35] In these accounts, the territory of the Hasinai is always mentioned as part of the setting for this historical drama. The actual role played by the Hasinai rarely receives more than a few sentences in these accounts, but without the influence and cooperation of the Hasinai, the goals of the French traders and the Spanish priests almost certainly could not have been realized.

After the Espinosa-Olivares expedition of 1709 failed to locate and reestablish contact with the Hasinai, the two priests involved in that journey left the Rio Grande missions for other duties, leaving Father Francisco Hidalgo to continue to lobby the Spanish religious and political authorities for a return to eastern Texas.[36] Hidalgo almost certainly had been in contact with the Hasinai – indirect contact through members of other tribes, and probably at least sporadic direct contact as well. When St. Denis arrived at the Rio Grande accompanied by four Hasinai Indians, Diego Ramon, captain of the Presidio de San Juan Bautista, wrote to Father Hidalgo, noting that one of the Hasinai was "he who came to see Your Reverence in past years."[37] Robert Weddle notes that some sources have indicated, although without clear documentation, that while at San Juan Bautista, Hidalgo made periodic journeys, alone and without official permission, to the territory of the Hasinai.[38] Regardless of whether this is true, he certainly knew of the French activity in Louisiana and their forays into eastern Texas to trade with the Hasinai and their neighbors.

On January 17, 1711,[39] Hidalgo wrote to the French governor of Louisiana, Lamothe Cadillac, to inquire about the well being of the Hasinai and ask for his cooperation in reestablishing a Spanish mission for the Indians. He sent three copies of the letter by separate routes to Louisiana.[40] One of the copies reached the French governor more than two years later, on May 2, 1713.[41] It was at just this time that Cadillac was attempting to establish a commercial enterprise in Louisiana, with the primary goals of finding sources of minerals to mine, increasing the Indian trade, and establishing a regular commerce with the Spanish colonial settlements. Hidalgo's letter created the possibility of bringing about the third of these goals by bringing the Spanish closer to the colonial frontier.[42]

Almost immediately an expedition composed of twenty-four Canadian soldiers was dispatched from Mobile late in September 1713 under the command of St. Denis. The expedition was to seek out Father Hildago,[43] and purchase cattle and horses for the French colony.[44] Certainly, an additional purpose was to make the Spanish authorities aware of the French presence at the frontier of Texas and Louisiana to oblige the Spaniards to establish a presence on that frontier as well. It was hoped that such a presence would open

up a line of communication and, more importantly, of commerce, between the two colonies.

Setting out from Mobile, St. Denis travelled by the Mississippi and Red rivers to the village of the Natchitoches Indians, who he described as "people with whom the French have traded for fourteen years in this place." From there he and his party travelled overland about forty leagues to the territory of the Hasinai. There he found the eleven villages of the Hasinai confederacy united under their leader, the Xinesi (chief or high priest) Bernardino, "who all obey."[45] This was the same Bernardino the Spaniards had known two decades earlier as the nephew of the Caddi (village chief) of the Hasinai village of Nabedachi, and whose hostility toward the Spaniards had been described by the Yojuan chief in 1709. From the Hasinai, St. Denis sent twenty-one of the soldiers back to Mobile. After a stay of undetermined length among the Hasinai, St. Denis, his three remaining soldiers, and a party of twenty-five Indians led by Bernardino set out for the Presidio de San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande. Along the way the group was attacked "by some two hundred thieving Indians from the coast," probably Karankawa. After a six-hour battle, in which at least twelve of the enemy group were killed, peace was made, and twenty-one of the Hasinai returned to their villages.[46] St. Denis and his party finally arrived at the Spanish presidio on July 19, 1714.[47]

St. Denis presented himself to the commander of the Presidio de San Juan Bautista, Diego Ramon, showing his passport and explaining that he wished to purchase supplies for the French settlements in Louisiana.[48] He also asked for Father Hidalgo, who had some time earlier returned to his *Colegio* at Queretaro. St. Denis and his three companions were arrested by Ramon and confined to the commander's own household. After an "imprisonment" of several months, during which St. Denis lived comfortably, charmed and befriended the entire Ramon household, and became engaged to Captain Diego Ramon's granddaughter, he was sent to Mexico City. There he appeared several times before the Viceroy, the Duke of Linares, to account for his illegal entrance into Spanish territory and describe the route that he had taken.[49] St. Denis' official statement regarding his journey was recorded on June 22, 1715.

The report that St. Denis gave the Spaniards concerning his voyage was calculated to stimulate their interest in returning to the land of the Hasinai. Noting the cultivated fields and vast herds of the Hasinai, he also described the fertility of the land, on which, he said, are found "fruits of every kind, very rich and most noble, with the most prolific vines that he has seen, of distinct qualities and colors, and in such quantity that the countryside is covered with bunches of grapes which are of the size of a ball of 28 or 30 pounds each, as also such vast fields, covered with hemp so fine that it could provide the rigging for all the ships of Europe."[50] His report on the inhabitants of this land was no less positive. Many of the Hasinai, including Bernardino, he reported, had maintained the Catholic faith even without priests in residence among them. Furthermore, the Indians had asked St. Denis to find Father Hidalgo, "who had lived among them with singular knowledge of their customs and language," and persuade him to return to East Texas. The Hasinai, said St. Denis, "have always retained a firm veneration for the Spanish, which they express even unto death, with the hope of their restitution."[51]

St. Denis' testimony contained numerous exaggerations and even some outright falsehoods. His description of the land and its resources seems to have been designed to remind the Spaniards of the most positive features of the environment while judiciously omitting more negative features and conditions, such as the dense forest, the unpredictable rainfall, and the periodic flooding of the rivers that had caused them difficulty during their first occupation. St. Denis' report was particularly deceptive concerning the supposed devotion of the Hasinai to the Catholic faith. There is no evidence that any of the Indians had remained practicing Catholics or even maintained an interest in the religion after the departure of the Franciscans in 1693. There is little reason to believe that any conversions had been made, even during the first Spanish occupation, except perhaps a few among those who were dying of disease.[52] According to some accounts, Father Hidalgo had won some genuine converts among the Hasinai, who had begged him not to abandon them in 1693.[53] The devotion of these converts presumably accounted for Hidalgo's long-time dedication to bringing about the return of the Franciscans to eastern Texas. However, this scenario probably is based more on romantic fantasy than genuine documentation. Whatever conversions had been achieved were few and far between. Nor would the priests have any greater success in converting the Hasinai after 1716 when they returned to eastern Texas.

Nevertheless, St. Denis' statement had its intended effect. The following month, the Spanish *Fiscal* directed the Viceroy to order the establishment of a mission among the Hasinai, and soon the number of missions to be established was increased to four.[54] St. Denis was released from prison, appointed to guide the expedition to establish these missions, and was given a salary. The reasons for this decision to reoccupy Texas were numerous. The Spanish authorities certainly had been aware of French activity in the area for some years, having no doubt been reminded by Fathers Hidalgo and Salazar time and again, but it apparently took the appearance of St. Denis to shake them out of their complacency and to make them aware of the "pernicious consequences" that the Spanish could suffer from the French forays into their domain.[55] The continuous lobbying of the priests must have had some effect, as well as did the glowingly positive report of St. Denis on the land and on the desires of the Indians to once again receive missionaries. But the other major figures in this episode, the Hasinai Indians themselves, played a part, as well. What were their goals during this period, and what were their strategies in bringing them about?

The Hasinai and the reoccupation of East Texas

Unfortunately, there are only two accounts of first-hand encounters with the Hasinai that pertain to this period: the documents detailing Salazar's expedition to Mexico City, on which he was accompanied by two Hasinai Indians; and St. Denis' report, which contains a few sentences designed primarily to spark the interest of the Spaniards in a reoccupation of eastern Texas. So it is necessary, to an even greater degree that for other periods, to infer what may have been the motives and strategies of the Hasinai in dealing with Europeans in their land. There are a number of points that seem relevant to this endeavor.

First, although, as noted, St. Denis' report of the Catholic zeal of the Hasinai was an obviously calculated deception, the Hasinai nevertheless were

interested in having the Spanish return to their territory. The reason was not their desire for religious instruction or the salvation of their souls, but rather an opportunity to benefit from the increase in trade that would result from the presence of both Spaniards and Frenchmen in their vicinity. Thus, the Hasinai were probably just as eager to see San Denis' mission succeed as was St. Denis himself. The last segment of St. Denis' journey, from the Hasinai to the Rio Grande, may have been undertaken partly at the urging of Bernardino. St. Denis indicates, as quoted in a letter written to Father Hidalgo by Diego Ramon, that he initially had intended to contact Hidalgo by letter from the territory of the Hasinai. The Hasinai individual who at first had agreed to carry the letter then made an excuse not to do so.[56] As St. Denis noted in another letter, this one written by himself to Hidalgo, "it is Bernardo [Bernardino], a Hasinai, who wanted to guide us here, with three others of his countrymen." Apparently at Bernardino's urging, St. Denis and his small party "departed from his land without supplies ... living on the road on whatever we could hunt."[57]

Bernardino was instrumental in bringing about St. Denis' contact with the Spanish, or at least in encouraging the French party in making their journey to the Rio Grande. As the most powerful political leader among the Hasinai, it would have been among Bernardino's duties and prerogatives to mediate between the Hasinai and the French and Spanish outsiders and to arrange trading relationships with those outsiders. The arrangement of such relationships by a political leader also would have been a means of reinforcing and consolidating his power. Bernardino no doubt hoped that his relationship with St. Denis would give him access to an exclusive source of European goods, a source that would allow him to strengthen his network of allies and sources among the Hasinai and with surrounding tribes.

While Bernardino certainly remembered the disastrous outcome of the first Spanish occupation of his territory and the anger with which he and his uncle had evicted the Spaniards, it should not be considered unusual that he would welcome them back. In the social world of the Southeast and the Southern Plains during this period, friendships, alliances, and trade relationships constantly shifted, and an enemy one year might be an ally the next. In this unstable social climate, the willingness of the Hasinai to overlook past conflicts with other groups probably accounted in part for the large network of alliances and exchange partnerships they enjoyed. If an amicable relationship with the Spaniards could bring material or political benefits to the Hasinai, past grievances would be forgotten readily.

There was one group with whom there was little or no chance of arranging an alliance or a regular trading relationship. The Apaches were still mortal and irrevocable enemies of the Hasinai and all of their neighbors. In 1716, Captain Domingo Ramon, the son of Diego Ramon, who led the military arm of the party that reestablished the missions among the Hasinai, reported that he was unable to carry out a planned exploration of the surrounding territory because of the presence of Apaches and Yojuanes, who were enemies of the Hasinai.[58] And the following year, Don Juan de Olivan Rebolledo proposed the building of a presidio on the bank of the Red River to Guard "against the invasions of the Apaches, who are enemies of one and all."[59]

It was the hostility of the Apaches that had made the development of an

amicable relationship with the French of Louisiana all the more important to the Hasinai. This is true because the French were the source of a commodity, previously unavailable to the Hasinai, that gave them a distinct advantage over their enemies. Beginning around 1700 the French colonists of Louisiana began to bring firearms to the Hasinai and their neighbors. At first guns were obtained in such small numbers that they were almost certainly a prestige item, available only to individuals who held high social status and political authority. In addition to their utilitarian value, firearms would be displayed by elites as symbols of their status and distributed selectively to allies and supporters.

In 1700, one of the two Hasinai who accompanied Father Salazar to Mexico City reported that the Frenchmen who had come to the province of the Hasinai had met the "Captain of the Nazones [Nasoni]," and had presented to him two rifles in exchange for two horses.[60] Sixteen years later, the Spaniards found firearms among the Hasinai in slightly greater numbers that had been noted in 1700. Domingo Ramon reported in a letter written shortly after the Spanish reoccupation of East Texas in 1716, "I have found that the Tejas have eighteen or twenty long rifles, all French," in addition to beads, knives, and clothing that the French had traded to them for livestock.[61] At this time, firearms still appear to be primarily a prestige item. In his diary of the 1716 expedition, Domingo Ramon described a Hasinai welcoming procession in which the Indians marched in three columns, the middle of which included "the Captains, who carried shotguns as they approached."[62]

The introduction of guns would give the Hasinai and their allies the advantage of being better armed than their enemies. The Apaches did not have a reliable source to obtain firearms in trade, and thus were unable to acquire guns and ammunition in sufficient numbers to be useful in warfare.[63] Access to a reliable source of guns, ammunition, and other trade goods would enable elites among the Hasinai, such as Bernardino, to attract allies and supporters hoping to take advantage of those goods. St. Denis must have made clear to Bernardino and the other Hasinai leaders that if the Spaniards were to settle among them, more Frenchmen would settle nearby, and the flow of trade goods, including the valuable firearms, would increase. The request for missionaries made by the two Hasinai Indians who took part in the Salazar expedition almost fifteen years earlier suggests that Bernardino may have been aware of this implication for quite some time before St. Denis' journey of 1715.

A further clue as to what the Hasinai expected from their relationship with the French may be found in the speech given by a chief of the Kadohadacho on the occasion of the establishment of a French post in their territory of the Red River[64] The Kadohadacho had suffered heavy losses in war, and the chief, who was described as "a venerated old man and the most eloquent talker of his nation," told his people that

> the time had come to change their tears into happiness, even though it was true that most their comrades had been killed or made slaves by their adversaries, and that they were no longer numerous. The arrival of he Canouches [the name given to the French] would prevent their total destruction; and their enemies, becoming their allies, would no longer make war upon them.

The Hasinai do not seem to have suffered as heavily in war as the Red

River Caddo. The Kadohadacho were more exposed than the Hasinai to attack by parties of Osage and Chickasaw from the north and east, who went well-armed with French and English guns. However, the Hasinai had certainly taken some losses in warfare over the years, and the expectation of protection from enemies by their relationship with Europeans must have been much the same. Earlier experiences had taught the Hasinai not to expect the Spaniards to come to their aid in warfare, and they knew of the Spanish policy not to give or trade firearms to the Indians. But now the French, and their guns, presented a new advantage over their enemies, as well as a source of political power for Hasinai leaders. If a Spanish occupation of their territory would help to bring more French goods to them, then the Hasinai would not hesitate to welcome Spaniards back into their territory.

NOTES

[1]This article is part of a chapter in a doctoral dissertation being written at the University of Georgia. The research for this dissertation was funded in part by a grant from the Ottis Lock Endowment, East Texas Historical Association.

[2]Letter of Fray Damian Massanet to Don Carlos de Siguenza, 1690, in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, edited by Herbert E. Bolton (reprint; New York, 1963), pp. 168, 183.

[3]Carta e informe del padre Damian Mazanet al virrey Conde de Balve sobre la critica situacion de las misiones de Texas, in *Primeras Exploraciones y Poblamiento de Texas (1686-1694)*, edited by Lino Gomez Canedo (Monterrey, 1968), pp. 313-314.

[4]Carlos E. Castaneda, "Silent Years in Texas History," *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society* 2 (8) (1934), p. 6.

[5]J. Charles Kelley, "Juan Sabeata and Diffusion in Aboriginal Texas," *American Anthropologist* 57 (1955), pp. 981-995.

[6]Vito Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas en la Epoca Colonial* (Mexico, 1938), p. 426.

[7]Diario del viaje del capital Gregorio de Salinas Varona, en su expedicion de socorro al este de Texas (July 17, 1693), in *Primeras Exploraciones*, p. 306.

[8]Nancy P. Hickerson, *The Jumanos: Hunters and Traders of the South Plains* (Austin, 1994), pp. 204-205.

[9]Herbert E. Bolton, "The Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 15 (1911), p. 80.

[10]Declaration of Don Luis de St. Denis and Don Medar, natives of France, June 22, 1715. University of Texas at Austin, Center for American History (UTCAH). *Archivo de la Nacion de Mexico* (AGN), Box 2Q176.

[11]Domingo Ramon, July 22, 1716. UTCAH. Archivo General de las Indias (AGI), Box 2Q146.

[12]Robert S. Weddle, *San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas* (Austin, 1968), p. 20.

[13]Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin, 1992), pp. 104-110; Carlos E. Castaneda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936* (7 volumes; reprint, New York, 1976), 2, pp. 26-28; Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, pp. 97-100.

[14]Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, p. 98.

[15]Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas*, pp. 426-427.

[16]Declaration of St. Denis, 1715. St. Denis briefly mentioned this expedition in his statement, but no more detailed account or mention has been found.

[17]Fray Diego de San Buenaventura y Salazar, July 16, 1700. UTCAH. AGM, Box 2Q203.

[18]Declarations of the Tejas Indians, July 20, 1700. UTCAH. AGM, Box 2Q203.

[19]Declarations of the Tejas Indians. The Governor of the Tejas referred to was probably Bernardino, the nephew of the old Caddi of the Nabedache who had evicted the Spaniards six years earlier.

[20]Report of the Junta. UTCAH. GM, Box 2Q203.

[21]Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas*, p. 428.

[22]Declaration of St. Denis, 1715.

[23]Declaration of St. Denis, 1715; Don Juan de Rebolledo, November 4, 1716. UTCAH. AGI, Box 2Q146.

[24]Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, pp. 107-108; Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, pp. 92-94.

[25]Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, p. 110.

[26]Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, pp. 92-93

[27]Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura y Olivares and Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, Diary of the Olivares Expedition, 1709. UTCAH. AGI, Box 2Q146.

[28]Olivares and Espinosa Diary.

[29]Olivares and Espinosa Diary.

[30]Castaneda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, 2, p. 23; Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, p. 110.

[31]The Yojuanes have been identified as a Tonkawan group (Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, p. 93), and as Wichitas (Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, pp. 268, 279).

[32]Olivares and Espinosa Diary.

[33]Domingo Ramon, July 22, 1716.

[34]Fray Isidro Felix de Espinosa, *Cronica de los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Nueva Espana*, edited by Lino Gomez Canedo (Washington, D.C., 1964), p. 697.

[35]Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, pp. 110-116; Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas*, pp. 426-441.

[36]Chipman, *Spanish Texas*, p. 110.

[37]Captain Diego Ramon, to Father Francisco Hidalgo, July 22, 1714. UTCAH. Spanish Material from Various Sources, Box 2Q235.

[38]Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, p. 98.

[39]Don Luis de St. Denis, to Fr. Francisco Hidalgo, July 28, 1714. UTCAH. SMVS, Box 2Q235.

[40]Castaneda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, 2, p. 27.

[41]Don Luis de San Denis, to Fr. Francisco Hidalgo, July 20, 1714. UTCAH. SMVS, Box 2Q235.

[42]Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas*, p. 428.

[43]Declaration of San Denis, 1715.

[44]Don Juan de Olivan Rebolledo, November 4, 1716. UTCAH. AGI, Box 2Q146.

[45]Declaration of St. Denis, 1715. It should be noted that "Bernardino" was clearly not the Caddo name of this chief. He was given this nickname by the Spaniards on the De Leon and Massanet expedition in 1690. However, he seems to have adopted this name as his own, or at least used it when dealing with Europeans.

[46]Declaration of St. Denis, 1715.

[47]Father Alonso Gonzales, letter to Father Francisco Hidalgo, July 21, 1714. Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Queretro, K Leg. 1, no. 7. Photocopy in Catholic Archives of Texas, 2.4.11.

[48]Castaneda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, 2, p. 31.

[49]Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas*, p. 431.

[50]Declaration of St. Denis, 1715.

[51]Declaration of St. Denis, 1715.

[52]Father Francisco Hidalgo to Father Isidro Felix de Espinosa, November 20, 1710. UTCAH. SMVS, Box 2Q235.

[53]Weddle, *San Juan Bautista*, p. 97.

[54]Castaneda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, 2, pp. 35-38.

[55]Espinosa, *Cronica*, p. 684.

[56]Diego Ramon to Hidalgo, July 22, 1714.

[57]St. Denis to Hidalgo, July 28, 1714.

[58]Domingo Ramon, July 22, 1716.

[59]Don Juan de Olivan Rebolledo, December 24, 1717. Bexar Archives microfilm, reel 8. Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University.

[60]Declarations of the Tejas Indians, July 20, 1700. Nasoni was one of the villages that comprised the Hasinai Confederacy.

[62]Captain Don Domingo Ramon's Diary of His Expedition into Texas in 1716, edited by Reverand Paul J. Foik, *Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society* 2 (5) (1933), p. 20.

[63]W.W. Newcomb, Jr., *The Indians of Texas: From Prehistoric to Modern Times* (Austin, 1961), p. 108.

[64]Jean-Baptiste Benard de La Harpe, The Historical Journal of he Establishment of the French in Louisiana (Lafayette, 1971), p. 132. The Kadohadacho were a Caddoan confederacy that was located on the Red River, and was culturally similar to the Hasinai.

THE BOX FAMILY ROOTS AND SOUTH TEXAS POLITICS: JUDGE MANUEL BOX BRAVO

by J. Gilberto Quezada

For years, genealogists have traced and recorded the Box family roots. In particular, Mrs. Edna Box Riley made significant contributions through her literary compositions. Her research is confined primarily to the geographical boundaries of East Texas. However, with the availability and reexamination of the Bravo family history from South Texas, a definite genealogical link can be established with the Box family.

During the creation of Houston County, a group of over 100 intrepid settlers, including Stephen F. Box and his sons, petitioned the Texas Congress to establish the first constitutional county in the Republic of Texas, and on June 12, 1837, their request was granted. The election of county officials became the next order of business and the people elected John Andrew Box, son of Stephen and Keziah Albright, to a two-year term as a justice of the peace.[1] Following his father's footsteps in local politics, John Andrew became known as "Judge Box," a title his father had garnered while performing similar duties in Alabama during the 1820s.

For John Andrew, performing a public service became synonymous with doing patriotic duty, a Box family trait. During the American Revolution, his grandfather, Robert Box, Sr., received land grants in South Carolina for providing supplies to the revolutionary armies.[2] Sixty years later, in 1836, John Andrew, at the age of thirty-four, mustered in Sam Houston's army under Colonel Sidney Sherman's Second Regiment of Texas Volunteers and fought valiantly against General Santa Anna at the Battle of San Jacinto.

After an almost forty-year trek that began in Laurens County, South Carolina, during the last decade of the eighteenth century, continued to Franklin County, Tennessee, and then on to Blount County, Alabama, the Box family finally settled in Crockett, Texas, in 1834. Stephen and his sons applied for Mexican land grants from empresario Jose Vehlein. After obtaining a certificate of character from the *alcalde* in Nacogdoches and taking the oath of allegiance to adhere to the regulations described in the Colonization Laws of Coahuila and Texas of 1825, John Andrew accepted a first-class headright located on Walnut Bayou consisting of one league (4,423.4 acres) for being head of a household, and a *labor* (177.1 acres) for coming to Texas before March 2, 1836.[3] Shortly after his arrival in East Texas, John Andrew's wife, Polly Bynum, passed away, leaving their four children (William Robert, Nancy, Keziah, and Lina) under the care of an appointed guardian. John Andrew married Lucinda Yarbrough in 1838, and had ten more children.

A totally different topography of dense towering pine trees, rolling forests, and with the Trinity River to the west and the Neches River to the east greeted the Box family. The pine trees were described as being "fifty inches in diameter and from sixty to eighty feet to the first limbs. The towering branches entwist and entwine to keep all sunlight out also much moisture, infact a Heaven make

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(sic) roof. The ground was a carpet with pine needles of many centuries. Colonists, animals and Indians could walk through the forest silently on the heavy carpet of pine needles."[4] For their daily subsistence, the rich soil afforded the Box family a golden opportunity for farming and raising livestock.

The Boxes' zealous participation in spreading the Methodist religion became an influential factor in relocating to a much larger area; East Texas soon became populated with newly arrived frontier families. Both John Andrew and his father continued as circuit riders and as exhorters, taking almost two months to complete the circuit. At home, Stephen fostered Methodism by donating three acres for the establishment of a church at the site where the Shiloh Methodist Church formerly was located. In 1838, Methodist preachers Littleton Fowler and Bishop Thomas Asbury Morris made frequent rest stops at John Andrew's log cabin before continuing their journey to other settlements in East Texas.[5]

Economic prosperity followed John Andrew and his family until the outbreak of the Civil War. Citizens from District No. 11, which consisted of Trinity, Houston, and Anderson counties, selected him as a delegate to the secession convention in Austin. According to the convention's records, Box was listed as delegate No. 95 of 177 delegates, he was fifty-seven years of age, worked as a farmer with no slaves, owned 14,086 acres of land, possessed personal worth of $11,000, with 112 improved acres of land, 888 of unimproved acres, and twenty-five ginned cotton bales of 400 pounds each.[6] Even though John Andrew voted in favor of secession, he remained at home to oversee the family's interests and welfare.

John Andrew's youngest son by his first marriage, Lina Helen Box, enlisted in the Confederate army on June 23, 1861, in Palestine, Texas, at the age of twenty-nine. He served in Captain John R. Woodward's Company G, First Regiment, Texas Infantry; later this regiment joined others to become a part of Hood's Texas Brigade. The war took its toll on his health, and on October 8, 1862, unable to perform his military duties, Lina received a medical discharge because of kidney problems. In his short military career, he rose from private to the rank of fifth sergeant.[7]

After General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, chaos, social disorder, and confusion permeated the East Texas communities. Hard times fell on the Box family, and John Andrew lost about 8,000 acres of land. Disillusioned and perhaps in search for a better socio-economic and political climate, Lina, still single, migrated southwest to Hidalgo County. He travelled by steamboat down the Trinity River to the Gulf of Mexico, briefly stopped in Galveston, then continued to Brownsville. Upon his arrival, he journeyed by wagon across the mesquite, cactus, and brush country to the border town of Hidalgo, the county seat of Hidalgo County.[8]

According to a special commemorative feature that appeared in the Edinburg Daily Review, dated December 7, 1952, Lina already had visited South Texas and was familiar with the territory:

> L.H. Box and his brother came to Southern Texas with Taylors' army during the Mexican War. They rode around the country buying land and cattle with Mexican silver dollars 9

Lina's older brother, Williams Robert, had served as a private in Captain John Long's Company of Volunteers, and according to the story, Lina tagged along and travelled with him to South Texas. However, there are no muster roll records to verify his service.

At the age of thirty-four, Lina entered the political arena in Hidalgo County and served as district clerk from 1866 to 1869. In 1870, the Texas Bar Association admitted Box to practice in Brownsville, where he became a prominent attorney serving Cameron and Hidalgo counties. In 1874, he found gainful employment as a United States deputy collector of customs in Hildago.[10] In addition to working full-time, Lina continued the Box family tradition of spreading the Methodist religion in South Texas. He also managed to maintain an active involvement with the Masonic Lodge by transferring his affiliation from Crockett to Rio Grande Lodge No. 81 on September 7, 1875. In land investments, he purchased a Spanish land grand (*porcion* 72), which became known as El Sauz Ranch, located on the southern part of Hidalgo County on the banks of the Rio Grande.[11]

On August 28, 1874, Box married Louisa Singleterry, a native of Alabama. They made their home in El Sauz ranch, where their four children, John Leslie, Myona, Emma, and Lina (a girl), were born. On July 15, 1881, Lina received approval for a thirty-day leave of absence to seek medical help in San Antonio. He left his family behind since Louisa was expecting their last child. A few days later, after making the rugged trip by stagecoach on a hot and humid summer day (August 7, 1881), Lina dried of stomach ulcers at the home of Alexander H. Sutherland, a friend of the family and a Methodist minister from South Texas.[12] The Reverend Sutherland attended to Boxes' last wishes and made the necessary arrangements for a Christian burial in San Antonio.

Emma Box, one of Lina's four children, was born on September 11, 1879, in the old town of Hidalgo, Texas. Family members described her as being bilingual, with beautiful, sky-blue eyes and blond hair. On the other hand, Emma's future husband, David Bravo, born in El Sauz Ranch and a Catholic who spoke only Spanish, had the following physical features: a prominent square jaw, big black eyes, and black hair.[13] Even though little is known about their courtship, they obtained their marriage license in Hidalgo County on May 5, 1900. David and Emma set up housekeeping in El Sauz Ranch where David attended to ranching activities and Emma continued her active involvement with the *El Divino Redentor* Methodist Church of Hidalgo.

In their modest, one-room adobe house, situated on the ranch property, Manuel Box Bravo, the oldest of eight children, was born on May 2, 1901. Manuel spent his early childhood days growing up in a rugged frontier environment isolated from the mainstream of early twentieth-century American life. A first cousin of Manuel, who also grew up at El Sauz Ranch, reminisced about the times when they had to water the dirt floor constantly to keep it from picking up.[14] In 1910, the Rio Grande flooded the ranch property and other ranches along the banks of the river, causing David and his family to move to McAllen. Tough economic conditions forced Manuel to quit school after finishing the eighth grade; afterwards, he found employment in different menial jobs. Three years later, Manuel's mother, Emma, arranged for him to work at her brother's (John Leslie) drugstore in Edinburg.[15] John's wife,

Braulia, also helped out at the drugstore, a personal commitment to keep the family business prospering.

Manuel met his future wife, Josefa Villarreal, at the drugstore, when she visited her sister, Braulita. Josefa worked at the Hidalgo County Courthouse, which was situated directly across the street from the drugstore. After almost two years of courtship, on October 14, 1919, Manuel married Josefa at the Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Edinburg. After their honeymoon in Mexico, the Bravos returned to Edinburg where he found full-time employment in the county tax assessor's office. By the early 1930s, Manuel's diligent efforts paid off and he received a promotion to chief deputy in the county's Delinquent Tax Department. Throughout the ensuing years, Manuel and Josefa devoted attention to rearing their four children.

By design or by accident, Manuel gradually established a political base with his leadership in the Knights of Columbus, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and the Democratic Party. During the early 1930s, at the insistence of several Democratic leaders, Manuel campaigned for the office of Hidalgo County district clerk, a position his grandfather, Lina H. Box, had occupied sixty-six years previously. On April 8, 1932, the Edinburg Valley Review officially announced his candidacy.[16] The primary election results indicated that Manuel had defeated two Democrat opponents by 3,130 votes. Incumbent L.C. Lemen easily won the nomination of the Good Government League. Manuel spent the ensuing months campaigning under the catchy slogan – "Elect these Democrats for a New and Better Deal in Hidalgo County. They stand for Honesty, Economy, Lower Taxes."[17] Meanwhile, the Good Government League reminded voters of the Democratic Party's alleged past fraudulent elections.

In the November 8, 1932, general election, the Democratic candidates lost every county-wide office. Incumbent Lemen easily defeated Bravo by a total of 2,479 votes. After this setback, although he remained an active member of the Democratic Party, Manuel did not seek public office in Hidalgo County again. Hard times fell on him and his family; he resigned from his county job due to the political change in administration. The Great Depression impacted the county as well, and Manuel remained unemployed. In 1933, at the encouragement of his wife's older sister, Maria V. Cuellar, who lived in Zapata, Texas, Manuel moved his family to that small border community.[18]

Slowly at first, but with gradual confidence, Manuel became actively involved in local politics, supporting *El Partido Viejo*, as supporters called the Democratic Party. Three years later, on the eve of the general election – November 3, 1936, the incumbent, County Judge Antonio Victor Navarro, suddenly withdrew from the election.[19] Although the incumbent had been a county judge since 1926, he fell out of grace with Democratic Party leaders who then cajoled Manuel into accepting the judgeship and allowing a write-in campaign in his behalf. Almost anti-climactically, Bravo won the election with 227 votes, although Navarro still managed to garner forty-one votes.

On January 1, 1937, Manuel Box Bravo, at the age of thirty-six, became the twelfth county judge in the history of Zapata County and only the second official to occupy that office for twenty years (1937-1957). Judge Bravo was a staunch Democrat who gained the respect of his fellow politicians and friends

through his involvement in numerous county, state, and national projects. The Judge Bravo Papers were first opened to the author on July 13, 1990, almost six years after his death. Following a rather lengthy family discussion on the judge's contributions to Zapata County and to south Texas, Mrs. Josefa V. Bravo granted permission to open an old filing cabinet that contained her husband's private and public papers.[20]

The Bravo Papers make reference to Brown and Root, the construction of Falcon Dam, the relocation of the town of Zapata and the surrounding hamlets, the Democratic Party, the Felix Longoria incident, discrimination, drought relief, El Chamizal Settlement, a hoof-and-mouth disease eradication project, the International Boundary and Water Commission, Knights of Columbus, LULAC, the F.B.I., the Roosevelt-Truman Campaign of 1944, soil conservation, and many more. Moreover, the judge's letters include correspondence with James V. Allred, Lloyd Bentsen, Jr., George Bush, Tom Connally, Jesse James, Rogers Kelley, Joe M. Kilgore, Coke R. Stevenson, Ralph W. Yarborough, George and Archie Parr, Kika de la Garza, Paul Kilday, and many others.

For Lyndon Johnson alone, there are over fifty letters, many of them not available at the LBJ Library. Their close friendship and association began during the special Senate election on June 28, 1941, for the vacant seat created by the death of Senator Morris Sheppard. Twelve days before the election, on June 16, Judge Bravo formally acknowledged his support for Johnson: "Am going to get what few votes I can for you, made my mind up when our Com[m]lander in Chief spoke. Please send me two hundred circulars of Roosevelt and Unity, as I intend to mail that many letters to voters in this county."[21] Although statewide election results declared Governor "Pappy" O'Daniel the winner by only 1,311 votes, in Zapata County, Congressman Johnson garnered 273 votes in comparison to twenty-one votes cast for the governor.

Judge Bravo's tenacious work during the election in 1941 caught Johnson's attention and a mutual bond between these two political figures became firmly established. Seven years later, in 1948, both were back in the political arena again. While the judge sought a seventh term, Johnson campaigned for the Senate seat left vacant when O'Daniel decided not to seek re-election.[22] In South Texas, a heated election that impacted the senatorial election results pitted twenty-seven-year-old Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr. from McAllen against Philip A. Kazen of Laredo for the 15th Congressional District seat.

Even though Governor Stevenson led with enough votes to achieve a majority, the primary ended in a run-off, scheduled for Saturday, August 28. Johnson won big in central and east central counties, and all the South Texas counties.[23] In Zapata County, Johnson received 580 votes to Stevenson's twenty-eight, while Webb, Duval, and Jim Wells counties also voted heavily for Johnson. The race for the 15th District seat also ended in a run-off. The powerful Webb County Independent Club, led by County Judge Manuel J. Raymond, endorsed both Johnson and Kazen in the Democratic run-off. Raymond's political ally and *compadre* in Zapata County, Judge Bravo, also endorsed both candidates. Johnson had a special interest in this election. As historian Robert Dallek indicated, "a run-off in the Rio Grande Valley between Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr., and Philip Kazen for a House seat directly benefitted

Lyndon. Both men supported Johnson over Stevenson, and their higher respective totals in the run-off translated into more votes for Johnson."[24]

The run-off in 1948 turned out to be a cliff-hanger with the final outcome enshrouded in doubt. A day after the election, Johnson, obviously concerned about the results, telegraphed precise instructions to Judge Bravo: "The race is so close that an honest error in Tabulation could easily make the difference. Please check the returns now in and immediately contact the chairman of your executive committee and ascertain when the committee will meet to canvass the result in your county ... I am now calling on you for what is probably the most important service you can render me ... ."[25]

Meanwhile, final district-wide election results gave Bentsen a victory of 1,000 votes over Kazen. As suspense in the Senate run-off mounted, on September 3, Judge Bravo received the following letter from Johnson:

> It's still too early to say whether we have won or lost this election, but win or lose, I'll always be grateful from the bottom of my heart for the good people of Zapata County. Whether I am in the Senate or out, I hope that you and the good folks in your county will call on me at any time I can be of assistance to you. I am deeply grateful to you personally for your 'all out' efforts in my behalf ... When the last votes are counted and the election is over maybe we will have an opportunity to talk together personally and I shall look forward to that time.[26]

On September 13, the State Democratic Executive Committee officially declared Johnson the winner over Stevenson by a difference of eighty-seven votes. Stevenson claimed that voting irregularities had occurred in Zapata, Jim Wells, Webb, Starr, and Duval counties. Johnson's lawyers argued that Stevenson received 1,102 fraudulent (tombstone) votes in one county and over 2,000 illegal votes in Galveston County.[27] Federal Judge T. Whitfield Davidson assigned James M. Burnett to conduct an investigation in Zapata County on September 29, 1948. When the proceedings began, Judge Bravo, the county officials, and the election officers were all present outside the county courthouse to answer the roll call. This was not the case in Duval County, where only eight out of fifty witnesses cooperated with the investigation – the others had suddenly disappeared in Mexico.[28]

During Burnett's questioning, Mrs. Josefa Gutierrez, chairperson for the Zapata County Executive Committee, reported that the ballot results for precinct No. 3 were missing: "I left the four [election envelopes] in Mr. Bravo's office after we had the meeting and there were only those three left; I don't know what happened to the other."[29] After the noon recess, Judge Bravo testified that he received the election returns from the four precincts in sealed brown envelopes. During cross examination, the judge testified that when he went to check the four envelopes, the returns for precinct No. 3 were missing, "I checked in all my files and everything in the office, to see if they were misplaced."[30]

At approximately 2:30 P.M., Judge Davidson telephoned Burnett to terminate the investigation in Zapata County immediately and to return all the impounded documents. Davidson's decision to suspend the investigation assured Johnson the Democratic nomination. And in the bitterly contested race in Zapata County, Guillermo Gonzalez defeated his nephew, Santiago Gonzalez

(115 to 105 votes) for county commissioner of precinct No. 3. This on-going family feud may very well account for the missing ballot box returns.[31]

The correspondence between Judge Bravo and Lyndon Johnson during the Senate campaign in 1948 clearly indicates that Johnson did not know that the election was allegedly stolen on his behalf. For the next two years, whenever Johnson communicated with the judge he made it a point to mention the benign outcome of that election: "Often I think back to those summer days of 1948 when you helped so effectively to give Texas a new Senator. I am thinking of them now, as I write this letter. It gives me a feeling of intense pride to realize that you spared no time and no effort."[32]

All throughout his political career, Judge Bravo acted as a political leader for his own county and was not dominated or manipulated by outside political influences. A thorough search of the Bravo Papers failed to reveal a single document to substantiate Robert Caro's negative assertion that Bravo was a "less well known, petty despot," and that both Bravo and Johnson behaved as ruthless and deceitful politicians.[33] Moreover, Judge Bravo emerged as *jefe politico*, which was within the accepted boundaries of community leader.

A product of two linguistic and cultural heritages, he utilized his bilingual and diplomatic skills to the fullest, both in his personal life, as well as in public office. He left behind a legacy of social, economic, educational, and political reform. During his twenty years as county judge, and even after his retirement from public office in 1957, his trust and political influence extended beyond the geo-political boundaries of Zapata County. Indeed, Manuel Box Bravo was a leader in South Texas politics.

NOTES

[1]Joe E. Ericson, comp., *Judges of the Republic of Texas (1836-1846): A Biographical Directory* (Dallas, 1980), pp. 49-50; *History of Houston County, Texas, 1687-1979* (Tulsa, 1979), pp. 263-268; for more information on Stephen F. Box and his travels through Tennessee, Alabama, and Texas, see Mrs. Edna Box Riley, "The Stephen Box Family," *Franklin County Historical Review*, III (December 1971), pp. 44-46.

[2]*The Roster of Texas Daughters Revolutionary Ancestors*, (1976), p. 240; A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution* (Columbia, S.C., 1917), p. 163.

[3]Gifford White, *Character Certificates In The General Land Office of Texas* (Austin, 1985), p. 16; *An Abstract of the Original Titles of Record In The General Land Office* (Houston, 1964), pp. 123-124.

[4]*History of Houston County, 1687-1979*, p. 263.

[5]Ophelia Richardson Wade, comp., *The Box Book with McElroy and Floyd* (Bragg City, Missouri, 1983), p. 29; Laura Fowler Woolworth, comp and ed., *Littleton Fowler, 1803-1846: A Missionary to the Republic of Texas, 1837-1846*, p. 26.

[6]Ralph A. Wooster, "An Analysis of the Membership of the Texas Secession Convention," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 62 (January 1959), p. 332; all three counties that John Andrew represented voted overwhelmingly for secession, with a combined total votes of 1,628 for and only sixty-one against. Ernest W. Winkler, *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861* (Austin, 1912), pp. 20, 54.

[7]C.E. Avery and Gilbert Quezada, "Confederate Images - 5th Sgt. Lina H. Box," *Confederate Veteran Magazine* (March-April, 1993), p. 5; Colonel Harold B. Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade: A Compendium* (Dallas, 1977), pp. 49-51.

[8]In 1852, the Texas legislature took portions of Cameron and Starr counties to create Hidalgo County. It was not until 1908 that County Judge Dennis Chapin moved the county seat to Edinburg. Eleven years later, forty-two prominent business leaders, including Lina's oldest son,

John Leslie Box, signed the original application to incorporate the city of Edinburg. *Gift of the Rio: Story of Texas' Tropical Borderland* (Mission, 1975), pp. 8, 9, 14; Paul Jackson and Harry Quin, eds., *Edinburg: A Story of a Town* (Edinburg, 1976), p. 26.

[9]William Floyd, Jr., "Hidalgo Cattle Brands - 1852," The Daily Review, December 7, 1952.

[10]In 1872, Col. J.L. Haynes, collector of customs, highly recommended Lina to the secretary of the treasury, referring to him as "a gentleman of high standing and great influence in Hidalgo County... ." Col. Haynes to Secretary of the Treasury, September 14, 1872 (letter in possession of Mrs. Virginia Bravo Lopez).

[11]Izora Skinner, "Edinburg Remembered: The J.L. Box Home," Edinburg Valley Review, May 2, 1976; Last Will & Testament of L.H. Box, September 19, 1881 (in possession of Mrs. Virginia Bravo Lopez).

[12]Death Certificate for Lina H. Box, San Antonio Metropolitan Health District, September 11, 1990 (copy in possession of the author).

[13]Josefa V. Bravo, interview with author, December 24, 1991, Zapata, Texas.

[14]Elias Cavazos (son of Myona Box and Porfirio Cavazos) interview with author, September 29, 1990, Zapata, Texas.

[15]Josefa V. Bravo interview. John Leslie, a pharmacist, owned the Box drugstore, which was located at the corner of 12th and Cano. It was later relocated "two doors east of the First Bank, and its name changed to Edinburg Drug Company." Skinner, "Edinburg Remembered: The J.L. Box Home."

[16]"Candidacy of Bravo Filed," Edinburg Valley Review, April 8, 1932.

[17]"Elect These Democrats for a New and Better Deal in Hidalgo County," Edinburg Valley Review, October 26, 1932.

[18]Juan Gilberto Quezada, "Judge Manuel B. Bravo: A Political Leader in South Texas, 1937-1957," *The Journal of South Texas* (Spring, 1992), p. 54; Josefa V. Bravo interview.

[19]"County Judge Navarro of Zapata County Withdraws From Race on Election Eve," The Laredo Times, November 2, 1936; Josefa V. Bravo interview; Josefa M. Gutierrez, interview with author, December 28, 1990, Zapata, Texas. During the 1940s, Mrs. Gutierrez served as chairperson of the Zapata County Democratic Executive Committee.

[20]Quezada, "Judge Manuel B. Bravo," p. 52.

[21]Bravo to LBJ, June 16, 1941. Hereinafter Bravo Papers will be cited as MBBP.

[22]LBJ to Bravo, July 19, 1948, Western Union Telegram, MBBP.

[23]Seth Shepard McKay, *Texas and the Fair Deal, 1945-1952* (San Antonio, 1954), pp. 218-219.

[24]Robert Dallek, *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908-1960* (New York, 1991), p. 347.

[25]LBJ to Bravo, August 29, 1948, Western Union Telegram, MBBP.

[26]LBJ to Bravo, September 3, 1948, MBBP.

[27]Reference is made to an affidavit submitted on September 22, 1948 by Walter W. Jenkins, who was present at the state's canvassing subcommittee when the results for Jack County announced 894 votes for Stevenson and 879 for Johnson. The actual results should have been Johnson 894 and Stevenson with 879, but "the error was not corrected later." *Defendant Lyndon B. Johnson's Opposition to Granting of Temporary Injunction,*" Federal Archives and Records Center (FARC), Fort Worth, Sec. 9, pp. 3-7.

[28]Quezada, "Judge Manuel B. Bravo," p. 61.

[29]*Zapata County Hearings*, September 29, 1948, FARC, p. 177; Mrs. Josefa M. Gutierrez interview; George Norris Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics: The Primitive Years, 1938-1957* (Westport, Conn., 1979), pp. 115-116; "Probe Chief Told Zapata Returns Lost," The Laredo Times, September 29, 1948.

[30]*Zapata County Hearings*: Mrs. Josefa M. Gutierrez interview; Green *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, p. 116.

[31]Quezada, "Judge Manuel B. Bravo," p. 62.

[32]LBJ to Bravo, October 20, 1948, MBBP.

[33]Quezada, "Judge Manuel B. Bravo," p. 64; Robert A. Caro, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: Means of Ascent* (New York, 1990), p. 187.

"WIGWAM METROPOLIS": CAMP FORD, TEXAS

by Amy L. Klemm

Approximately four miles northeast of Tyler, Texas, "on the side of the main road to Marshall," emerged Camp Ford, the largest prison for Union captives west of the Mississippi River. Accommodating nearly 5000 military and civilian inmates at its peak population, this facility fostered a community in which many captives consolidated their efforts to relieve the monotony of prison life. Amid physically oppressive conditions, some inmates occupied themselves with commercial, intellectual, and recreational pursuits while others entertained and executed plans to escape to Federal lines. Union prisoners made the best of an unfortunate situation, hoping that they would soon return to their units and to their families.[1]

Colonel John Selman "Rip" Ford, the Texas Superintendent of Conscripts, established his branch office at Tyler during the summer of 1862, which grew into a full-fledged post by the following September. Expressly used as an instructional facility for Confederate conscripts between the summers of 1862 and 1863, Camp Ford became a "point of temporary detention" for Union prisoners awaiting exchange below Shreveport, Louisiana, on the Red River. Escorting forty-eight captives from Shreveport to Camp Ford, Captain Samuel J. Richardson's Cavalry arrived on July 30, 1863, under orders to "establish a post at Tyler and to provide a guard for the prisoners."[2]

With the appointment of commandant R.T.P. Allen in the winter of 1863 came the first indication that General Edmund Kirby Smith envisioned Camp Ford as a permanent prisoner-of-war facility. Tyler was the logical choice for such an establishment. Officials could draw an ample guard from the conscript camp, and the Tyler "military headquarters" could provide administrative personnel. Tyler also was an excellent transportation depot, one far removed from the enemy line. Add the proximity of the Confederate commissary supply, and Tyler seemed more than a suitable locale.[3]

Because of the small number of prisoners initially confined there, Camp Ford at first had no enclosure. Surrounding the compound was a line of armed guards who rigorously enforced a three-pace limit that prevented inmates from crossing that boundary. One unfortunate captive, Private Thomas Moorehead of the 26th Indiana Infantry, unintentionally violated this regulation and perished due to a guard's swift bullet.[4]

In November 1863, officials transferred 461 prisoners awaiting exchange from Stirling Plantation, Louisiana, to Tyler, increasing the total prison population to 500. Prompted by fears that the sizable number of Ford's inmates would overpower the guard and "sack the town," the citizens of Tyler erected the first stockade. Within ten days they built a pen of pine timbers, "split in halves, and set close together" approximately three feet into the ground. From a stationed platform along the top of the sixteen to twenty-foot-tall structure, armed guards surveyed the two to five acres inside. Described as "small boxes or houses," these stations sheltered the guards "when it rained or was excessive hot." A strictly-enforced "dead line" circled the stockade's interior and

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prevented prisoners from coming within ten to thirty feet of the gates.[5]

Signaling the first confinement of a permanent nature, a contingent of 350 Federal prisoners, transferred from Camp Groce in Hempstead, arrived on December 22, 1863. The beginning of 1864 witnessed few newcomers. Occasional prisoners trickled in between January and March, including Lieutenant Colonel Augustine J.H. Duganne of the 176th New York Infantry, a holdover from Camp Groce, and Aransas Bay captives Captain Edward Coulter and Captain Dolphus Torrey of the 20th Iowa Infantry. Then, in a sudden expansion of the prison population, 760 enlisted personnel invaded the compound on March 30, 1864. These prisoners, sent forward for exchange at Shreveport in December, represented the enlisted component at Camp Groce, as well as Camp Ford's Stirling Plantation contingent, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph B. Leake of the 20th Iowa Infantry. Bristling at their revoked paroles, this group absorbed the remaining available space within the stockade walls. Leake's men, moreover, reclaimed their old cabins, promptly evicting the current inhabitants. Conditions grew uncomfortable and restrictive for the 1000 inmates confined by the end of March. These discomforts merely foreshadowed an impending population explosion, for Camp Ford soon swelled with the rapid influx of more than 4000 newcomers captured in Louisiana and Arkansas.[6]

On April 13, 1864, Colonel Allen detailed four members of Captain Samuel Richardson's guards to impress slaves from the surrounding countryside to enlarge the stockade. Work commenced two days later by sawing off the top halves of the stockade timbers and using them as posts. The walls were "moved back six hundred feet," thereafter encompassing between ten and twelve acres. Between April 15 and 20, nearly 1700 Mansfield, Pleasant Hill, and Powderhorn captives arrived. The summer months heralded further population expansion as the influx of more than 2600 Arkansas and Louisiana prisoners placed even greater pressure on limited resources and space.[7]

Amid the prairie and timbered hills, the stockade resembled an "irregular rectangle," built slightly askew from a north-south orientation. The main entrance to the facility, constructed within the western wall, usually was open and manned by a sentry. Located opposite the main gate were the guard-house, the guards' cabins, and the "wolf-pen," a log-frame enclosure where officials kept cantankerous prisoners and where Confederate conscripts and Union sympathizers remained while awaiting "removal to the provost prison of Tyler, or to Houston, where they can be tried for 'treason' to the 'Southern Confederacy.' " An auxiliary gate along the northern wall revealed an open plain where sheep, hogs, deer, and wild foxes roamed. Near the eastern wall of the compound flowed Ray's Creek, along which cavalry regiments camped and conscripts constructed their huts. Just outside of the southern wall arose an abrupt hill from which the commandant's headquarters, composed of two or three log houses, overlooked the stockade. "Opposite the southwest corner," a small cemetery served as the eventual resting place for nearly 300 prisoners.[8]

Into the southwest corner of the stockade flowed a streamlet, or "spring," from which both guards and inmates drew their water supply. "Impregnated with iron and sulphur ... a perpetual tonic," it trickled into three wooden reservoirs, "spouted from one to the other," used for washing, drinking, and

cooking. When the spring occasionally threatened to withhold its bounty, Acting Master Amos Johnson, captain of the *Sachem* and self-styled "Commissioner of Aqueducts," had the reservoirs sunk to insure a perpetual water supply.[9]

In the beginning, authorities quartered prisoners in the open air, without the benefit of blankets. Throughout the fall of 1863, inmates "bivouacked under the trees, which grew thickly, or slept in a small barrack-stack, within their allotted limits." Attempting to procure lumber with which to erect barracks for his charges, prison commandant Major Thomas Tucker met with stiff opposition from the post quartermaster. Thwarted in his efforts, Tucker allowed guarded prisoner details to gather building materials, such as timber and brush, with which to construct log cabins. A Federal officer whom Confederate officials had transferred from Camp Groce to Camp Ford in December 1863 described it as "the most miserable hole we have been in yet," a "barren looking camp" which offered new arrivals no shelter whatsoever, except for a few unoccupied shanties that were available for purchase. Describing these ten-foot-long structures as what "appeared to be pig-pens" at first, another Camp Groce transferee realized that these were, indeed, the cabins of confined officers.[10]

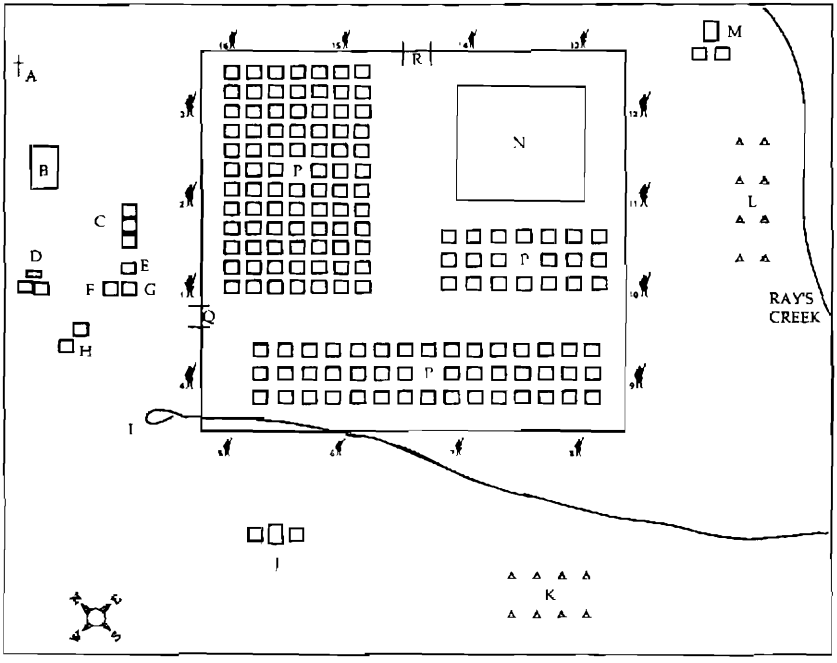
Upon his arrival at Camp Ford, 1st Lieutenant William H. Cowdin of the 42nd Massachusetts Infantry found no available shelter and had to pitch a tent. The following day, Cowdin and his comrades procured lumber for their "shebang" (a makeshift habitation) by tearing down an old cabin, had it "drawn up to our grounds and laid the foundation for our building." With the expertise and assistance of two Iowans, construction began on the "42nd mansion" on Christmas Day, 1863. Spending the next five days hauling mud and stones for the chimney, tearing down "an old shanty outside the stockade for boards," putting in the floor, and installing bunks, the officers of the 42nd Massachusetts slept on the floor of the Iowa Cabin until their quarters were habitable.[11]

Upon his arrival, Lieutenant Colonel Augustine J.H. Duganne found plenty of available land, but no empty cabins. He bunked with 1st Lieutenant John F. Peck of the 23rd Connecticut Infantry and 1st Lieutenant William H. Root of the 75th New York Infantry in their "demi-subterrene 'shanty' " his first night at Ford. Choosing a plot of ground the next day, Duganne hired, for the sum of $100 Confederate dollars, "Dawes and Hicks" of Kansas to build a cabin twelve feet by ten feet with a stone fireplace and a clay chimney. Duganne rapidly became one of Camp Ford's "leading citizens" since his "real estate" placed him among "men of substance." As a house-warming party, Duganne held "Sabbath-services at the door."[12]

Between February and March 1864, a prisoner council convened to plan a "town" within the stockade. "Ford City," cleverly described as a "wigwam metropolis," was "arranged in streets, right-angled with a central thoroughfare, called 'Fifth Avenue.' Midway, a platform, covered with a canopy of pine boughs served as the market-place." They reserved the southeast corner of the stockade for a public square, with latrines located at the south end of camp. The basic social unit of the camp was the mess: the collective inhabitants of a cabin, hut, or shebang, numbering between three and twelve members. Most buildings in "Ford City" bore the name of the messes which lived in them.

Holding a special position within the society of "Ford City," a group of the earliest inhabitants, known as the "Old Seventy-Two," gained the undying respect of their fellow inmates.[13]

Incoming prisoners, captured at Mansfield, Louisiana, in April 1864, found only a few log cabins and dugouts in one corner of the stockade, with the rest of the prison yard full of stumps and brush heaps. Assigned an area in which to sleep, eat, and answer roll call, each regiment received a plot of ground the length of its line and fifteen to twenty feet wide. A dearth of sufficient building materials left many newcomers unable to construct suitable quarters; yet, according to Corporal Aaron T. Sutton of the 83rd Ohio Infantry, many new prisoners improvised some sort of shelter for themselves. Most of the recent arrivals, however, simply slept on the ground, swearing themselves to sleep. Construction seemed to be an eternal process because inmates relied upon small, guarded working parties to gather poles and brush from the surrounding forest. Fortunately, the Texas climate afforded warm days, and



CAMP FORD, TEXAS,
FOLLOWING STOCKADE EXPANSION IN APRIL 1864

A = prisoner cemetery
B = prisoner garden
C = guards' quarters
D = hospital
E = wolf pen
F = Officer-of-the-Day's Headquarters
G = guard house
H = commissary storehouse
I = spring
J = Commandant's headquarters
K and L = cavalry encampments
M = cavalry headquarters
N = prisoner ball field
P = prisoner shebangs
Q = western (main) gate
R = northern (auxiliary) gate

most of the new arrivals, "fresh from camp-life and service," heartily withstood the elements. Nightfall, however, inevitably brought considerably cooler temperatures, forcing shelterless captives to keep in constant motion or to huddle over tiny fires in order to keep warm.[14]

Corporal Sutton's regiment was assigned a plot of mostly "new ground" known as Keno Corner due to the constant gambling activity in the area. From a nearby wood pile, Sutton and his comrades procured two "forks" which they set into the ground. Across the top they straddled a pole which served as a support for a wall composed of branches and bark. They constructed a westward-facing shebang into which messmates raked leaves and stowed their few personal belongings. Storm clouds soon rumbled overhead, and Sutton's company realized that their present edifice was not waterproof. Methodically, they "cut a drain on the sides and upper end" of their shebang "and put dirt on the poles." Completely sodden, that structure effectively repelled a torrential downpour.[15]

Intent upon improving the 83rd's mess, Sutton convinced the new post commandant, Colonel Scott Anderson, to allow him to venture outside the stockade to split some boards and rails. Giving Sutton an "ax and maul and two iron wedges," Anderson delineated a work area, warning Sutton not to stray. After paying a Negro driver ten cents to haul seventy-two rails to Keno Corner, Sutton logged off five more board cuts and returned to the stockade, rolling his timber to the main entrance. When the sentry would not allow Sutton to bring his prize into the compound, Sutton called for the Corporal of the Guard and obtained the necessary permission, much to the chagrin and embarrassment of the gatekeeper. After a brief rest, Sutton supervised as his "boys" dismantled their old shebang and leveled off an area for the foundation of their new quarters. When raised, the structure resembled a "corn crib" with a "shed roof" weighted by poles from the old shebang and by twenty-five cents' worth of green brush purchased from a Negro wood hauler. The following day, Sutton busied himself with cutting boards and installing bunks, while his messmates daubed the exterior.[16]

After the influx of Red River prisoners, Lieutenant Colonel Duganne complained that "Ford City" lost much of its village-like charm. Even though these newcomers arranged their shelters into city block patterns, the character of Ford changed to that of an "immense bivouac-ground, stretching from side to side of the low stockading." Encompassing about one acre, officers' quarters served as smaller communities within the greater aspect of "Ford City," where doorways were "shaded by a broad verandah, thick with evergreens; in some streets these verandahs joining midway," shading the area between quarters as well. Shelters for enlisted personnel and other types of prisoners occupied three sides of the stockade and were as "densely populated as the tenant-houses of a New York ward." Incorporating a broad range of architectural styles, enlisted men utilized whatever materials that they could find and supplies became more scarce as the prison population expanded. Some used upright poles with a roof composed of either a blanket, a thatch of leaves, or a bark overlay. Others constructed "palisaded mansions, eight feet square, with stakes, inserted in the earth, like picket fences, and covered with a roof of twigs." Still others contrived "basketwork" dwellings made of "ashwood peelings," or erected a clay-plastered, oak-slab roof slanting down from a six-foot mud wall. Those men who were short on material simply dug caverns into the ground. These

burrows, however, were abandoned after the first heavy rain.[17]

With the approach of winter, inmates realized that their quarters would not adequately shelter them from the bitter cold. Prisoner appeals for improved housing spurred the post commandant to send two separate transmissions to General E. Kirby Smith. Receiving no response, the commandant authorized four working parties, composed of eight and ten captives each, to collect timber and brush from the surrounding forest. After working every morning and afternoon for two months, these guarded details amassed enough building materials to construct adequate quarters for all prisoners.[18]

As the prison population expanded, guarding became an increasingly difficult duty. Major Tucker reported having only one company of militia, numbering seventy-one men, to guard 500 prisoners. He deemed this force insufficient, particularly when he had to send guards along with firewood details. In order to supplement this force, Confederate officials dispatched cavalry units to perform guard duty at the camp. The Reserve Corps, however, still shouldered the brunt of this responsibility because cavalry detachments left frequently for the battle front. Sixteen wall guards stationed on plank walks near the top of the original stockade, and treading a pathway around the low wall of the expanded version, patrolled the perimeter during the day. Each guard served two hours and was off four hours in a continuous cycle for a twenty-four hour period. At night, the guard force doubled.[19]

By December 22, 1863, Samuel Richardson's Cavalry had returned to their former post, guarding prisoners and retrieving deserters at Colonel Allen's request, "doing heavy, but unthanked for duty." Described by Lieutenant Colonel Duganne as "a company of partisans, who had never known real service, but had signalized themselves as kidnappers of conscripts," they harbored bitter feelings toward their Yankee underlings. These guards had been prisoners themselves at Camp Butler in Ohio less than a year before and relished the irony of their situation. Colonel Allen's benevolence toward his charges, signified by his gifts of fresh food for confined officers, was anathema to Richardson's men. Yet, insinuations that they repeatedly attempted to shoot inmates might be exaggerated.

Exhausted and overworked, Private W.W. Heartsill, a member of this unit, recorded in his diary that "guard duty is very heavy and no prospects of it becoming any lighter." His comrades had to forego a ten-day furlough because there were no relief guards. Even the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel John P. Border's cavalry regiment on April 19, 1864, did not lesson this burden "as the stockade is three times larger then formerly." Furthermore, Richardson's men shouldered the stigma of military inadequacy, heaped upon them by both soldiers and local citizens, because they merely guarded prisoners and retrieved deserters. Heartsill and his comrades longed to return to the front in order to regain their dignity. Under such pressures, it is understandable that tempers flared on occasion.

If Heartsill's comments are any indication, Richardson's men disapproved of random acts of violence. Heartsill blamed Colonel Scott Anderson's cavalrymen, who arrived for guard duty on May 15, 1864, for the shootings of two prisoners on May 22 and July 12, adding that "this makes two [inmates] that has been killed lately for trifling offenses ... and it is a shame on the

officers who will allow such outrite murder to go unpunished."[20]

After Richardson's men left for the front on July 15, 1864, guard duty fell to Border's and Anderson's troops, as well as to the newly-arrived 15th Texas Cavalry commanded by Colonel George Sweet. In the wake of thirty desertions from Sweet's battalion, a new guard, drawn from the Reserve Corps, replaced the rest of Sweet's men on March 14, 1865, in an effort to allay fears of further treachery. As the war progressed, guards and prisoners stood on friendlier terms. Remnants of the 15th Texas Cavalry allowed inmates to roam their environs on parole after news came that Robert E. Lee had surrendered to U.S. Grant.[21]

"No medicine for the sick, no shelter, no blankets, no change of diet, a filthy camp and not enough to eat was trying to both body and soul," lamented Corporal Sutton. Lacking variety and essential nutrients, Confederate-issued provisions never satisfied an inmate's appetite. Writing his diary entry for December 23, 1863, Cowdin described the fare that he received that day: "we are issued here meal sugar, salt, and rye for coffee." Delivered to the central market-place by the Confederate commissary, rations came in bulk. Federal "weighers" divided them proportionately among the messes, normally allotting each prisoner one pint of cornmeal, a half to one pound of beef, and enough salt to season it. When prisoner officials placed captives on "short rations," portions decreased considerably.[22]

Corporal Sutton complained about insufficient cornmeal rations, describing them as miserably poor at times. In order to use this staple, prisoners had to sift out large pieces of cob and husk, along with an occasional worm. Most of the time captives consumed the raw product, much to the disdain of their digestive systems. The long wait for a mush pot and pine paddle hardly seemed worth the effort, so many inmates mixed their cornmeal with water, placed the dough on a board, and propped it up over a fire to bake. When the commissary ran out of meal, it sent shelled corn in its place.[23]

Augmenting the typical prison diet, the commissary later issued beef once or twice per week, with daily portions distributed by the summer of 1864. Select prisoners butchered the bovine, reserving extra portions for themselves, such as the kidneys and the liver. If issued and butchered the same day, the meat pleased the palate; however, if it aged even twenty-four hours, it became "fly-blown" and thus inedible. Each mess had a designated cook who hoisted the beef on pulleys to expose the meat to the sun's drying rays and to protect it from insect infestation. Oddly enough, according to one inmate, flies seldom bothered elevated meat portions.[24]

Occasionally, local farmers sold their produce to the Federals, realizing that Union greenbacks wielded greater buying power than their devalued Confederate notes. In his diary entry for December 30, 1863, Cowdin recorded that he had purchased turnips and pork. Colonel Charles C. Nott of the 176th New York Infantry recalled visiting local farmhouses while on temporary parole by Colonel Allen, offering greenbacks for food items that he intended to use to prepare a New Year's "feast" for his fellow inmates. Although some farmers refused to sell their goods to "Yankees," others consented. Nott collected one small rooster, ten eggs, a peck of dried peaches and sweet potatoes, a pumpkin, and a quart of cider vinegar.[25]

More than likely, a local trader peddled his wares inside the stockade only if the guards could not afford his extortionistic prices. Corporal Suton remembered one Creole trader who came to sell cabbage, sweet potatoes, sacks of yellow cornmeal, pies, and cakes. Accepting a leather cavalry-artillery pouch, the sutler gave Sutton four-and-a-half bushels of yellow cornmeal. In turn, Sutton sold his stash to his comrades for twenty-five cents a quart, reserving a peck for emergency purposes. Other prisoners could not afford the Creole's goods. Unable to pay outrageous prices, an unruly mob dismantled the trader's wagon and confiscated its contents while the Creole brandished a hickory cane in self-defense. Sutton complained that he recovered only one small head of cabbage in the ensuing melee, but he beamed that Keno Corner had a new smell for dinner that evening.[26]

Attempting to supplement their meager diets, prisoners implemented various strategies. Early in Ford's history, numerous pigs roamed the camp neighborhood, "though bacon rations seldom visited" inmates. When guarded by a " 'Union' Texan," firewood details would kill a swine, cut it into quarters, and hide it under the gathered brush to evade the watchful eyes of the gate sentry. In another effort, many inhabitants planted "kitchen-gardens" prior to the arrival of the Red River captives, sowing seeds for "corn, rye, lettuce, sweet potatoes, water-melons, beans, peas, cabbages, and red peppers." Trampled by the onslaught by new prisoners, only a "clump of corn" and a few "green sprouts" survived.[27]

A stickler for observation, Lieutenant Colonel Duganne wryly commented on the condition of prisoner apparel. "I wish our Uncle Abraham, or Sam, could see this *sans culotte* procession march up Pennsylvania Avenue." Atop prisoners' heads perched a variety of headgear: Zoauve caps, crowns without rims, rims without crowns, torn handkerchiefs, even "wisps of straw." With the "rank and file generally hatless, bootless, and shirtless," several captives swaddled tattered blankets around their waists to cover their nakedness. Even the earliest Ford inhabitants suffered the effects of exposure due to a lack of proper clothing. Major Tucker tried, without success, to procure badly needed shoes and blankets for his inmates. Often, prisoners sold their overcoats and extra clothing to obtain money to buy food and supplies. Not realizing that they would have to weather a record-cold winter, most captives laughingly traded their apparel for Confederate dollars. Moreover, prisoners captured during the engagement at Pleasant Hill, Louisiana, surrendered their meager belongings to angry Confederates rather than incur the violent wrath of their captors.[28]

"In the greatest destitution," Federal prisoners appealed to their own government for new clothing since the Confederates were apparently unable to supply a new wardrobe for every prisoner. The 831 soldiers who had been captured between January 1 and September 29, 1863, had gone without a change of underwear for approximately six months. Most were shoeless, with some "naked from the waist, and some having nothing but their ragged blankets girt about them in place of trousers." Each man needed an entire "suit of clothing": one blouse, one pair of pants, one pair of shoes, two pairs of drawers, two shirts, two pairs of socks, and one blanket. Red River captives lacked only underclothing and shoes, but would require "an entire suit per man" within the following few months.[29]

Naval prisoners were as destitute as their soldier counterparts. Most belonged to the oldest contingent present at Ford, having been transferred from Camp Groce in December 1863. Taken aboard the vessels *Morning Light, Velocity, Clifton*, and *Sachem*, these 205 inmates needed undershirts, drawers, trousers, socks, shoes, and wool shirts.[30]

Plagued by various illnesses, Camp Ford prisoners were in dire need of medical attentions as well as sufficient clothing and a proper diet. Originally, Camp Ford had no medicines, no medical accommodations, and no post surgeon. Prisoners relied on the improvised services of their fellow captives. Surgeon J.W. Sherfy of the *Morning Light* and Surgeon David Hershay of the 84th Infantry, U.S. Colored Troops. An old Confederate surgeon who occasionally ventured into the compound received credit for saving the life of Colonel Isaac Burrell of the 42nd Massachusetts.[31]

The walls of the stockade barely contained the sea of blue-jackets that filled them to the rim throughout the spring and summer of 1864. Such a concentration of the prison population compounded the health problem tremendously. The demand for rations, clothing, and medical stores increased almost exponentially, while sanitary conditions, already poor, grew steadily worse. Reporting that disease already had ravaged the older captives, Colonel Nott commented that it was spreading rapidly throughout the new population. Acting Volunteer Lieutenant Crocker's report indicated that many seamen from *Morning Light, Velocity, Clifton*, and *Sachem* had fallen prey to deadly maladies. Both Nott and Crocker feared even greater mortality rates with the coming summer if the Federal government refused to send desperately needed medical supplies. Despite widespread sickness caused by exposure and malnutrition, only a small percentage of the prison population perished. In fact, by the time of Camp Ford's evacuation in May 1865, the cemetery contained only 282 graves.[32]

At least two outbreaks of small pox threatened the health of both guards and inmates. Private W.W. Heartsill recorded on March 13, 1864, that three of his comrades served guard duty at the "Small Pox Hospital," a facility built just outside the western wall where Confederate officials quarantined infected inmates hoping to prevent a major outbreak of the disease. With the following summer came a second wave. According to 1st Sergeant Henry S. McArthur of the 75th New York Infantry, the June outbreak alarmed the Confederates more than their Federal charges since most of the prisoners had been vaccinated. Still, several inmates succumbed to the disease while under the care of a purportedly drunken doctor at the small pox hospital.[33]

With many captives prostrated by illness, prison officials recognized the need for an improved hospital facility. Choosing a site approximately 300 feet from the western stockade wall, volunteer work parties erected a one-story clapboard structure, to which members of the 19th Kentucky Infantry added a smaller ward. Captain J.M. Wilcox of the 3rd Missouri Cavalry "assumed charge of the Medical Department, assisted by Maj. Morris, who had been likewise surgically educated." Other prisoners contributed their talents as well, with 1st Lieutenant James DeLemater of the 91st New York Infantry volunteering as hospital steward. By June 14, 1864, the hospital had admitted thirty-five to forty patients, seven of whom died and two of whom returned to

the stockade. The medical staff provided the best care possible in spite of limited medicines and supplies. At least, patients were able to recuperate in airy rooms with clean bedding and benefited from increased rations.[34]

Appointed as surgeon-in-charge by Colonel Anderson in June 1864, F.W. Meagher saw no way to restore health to the Ford compound. Overcrowding and filth inevitably bred infirmity. Of the 4500 confined prisoners, enlisted personnel suffered the most due to inadequate, and sometimes nonexistent, housing. Facing local prejudice toward Union prisoners, the new hospital staff searched in vain for better bedding and additional medical stores.[35]

By the time Captain Robert Henderson of the 6th Kansas Cavalry arrived at Camp Ford on July 14, 1864, a second addition had been added to the hospital facility. Faced by an overwhelming clientele, the medical staff erected an open-air lean-to, described as "crotches set in the ground, covered with brush," where nurses bunked their patients on "fourteen-foot board[s] raised slightly at one end ... deemed ample bedding for two."[36]

Still, rampant disease wreaked havoc on the prison population, Colonel George H. Sweet, commandant of the prison in October 1864, received orders from his superior, Major General John G. Walker, to make his captives comfortable in the midst of terrible suffering. Unable to spare a medical officer of his own, Walker appealed to Surgeon D.W. Yandell in Shreveport, hoping that supplies and personnel could be sent from Marshall or Shreveport to establish a general hospital. But little outside help arrived. Inundated will ill captives, the hospital underwent a final expansion in the spring of 1865. Affording little comfort to ailing men, the enlarged facility lacked sanitary supplies and medicines.[37]

If a prisoner could not afford to supplement his diet with fresh produce and meat, he suffered the ravages of nutritional deficiency. Diarrhea afflicted the majority because their diet seldom varied. 1st Lieutenant Cowdin recorded that he awoke five times one night, with diarrhea troubling him "considerably" shortly after his arrival at Camp Ford. Both Private Thomas H. Pace and Private Etheanan Burks of the 3rd Iowa Cavalry testified that their messmate Private Xerxes Knox suffered from diarrhea, like most prisoners. Scurvy was a prevalent disease among inmates, due to a lack of fresh vegetables, especially those containing citric acid. In February 1865, a shipment of supplies arrived, courtesy of the Federal government, containing vegetables to combat this disease. In addition, Lieutenant Colonel J.C. Jemison, the current commander, allowed three parties, composed of the 77th Illinois, the 130st Illinois, and the 120th Ohio Volunteer Infantries, to enclose and cultivate a six-acre garden near the stockade, with seed donated by Jemison himself. In place of a team, a dozen inmates pulled the plow through the field.[38]

Many prisoners suffered from "sore eyes," a condition most likely brought on by Vitamin A deficiency and manifested by sudden temporary blindness lasting several days, followed by visual recovery, but accompanied by sharp pain. Sutton, stricken himself, remarked that this condition "let many strong spirits down and done it in a way that it was difficult to rally up again." Most inmates recovered; however, some became pitiful "blind wrecks" after a relapse, losing their minds in the process.[39]

Another prevalent ailment was the "itch." Sutton and his regiment

suffered from this condition when they first arrived at Camp Ford. In return for five dollars, a Confederate brought Sutton a quart of sulphur, a portion of which he mixed with grease and applied like a poultice. The rest of the squad partook of Sutton's remedy and experienced speedy relief.[40]

Contending with "vermin and reptiles," prisoners faced the constant threat of bites and infestation. Centipedes and scorpions shared the same quarters as captives, and one early inhabitant died from a tarantula attack. "Beetles, bugs, and aphides" were also a common sight, as was the ever-present louse. Snakes made fewer appearances, but venomous varieties occasionally stowed away in firewood brought in by prisoner details.[41]

Filth reigned inside the stockade, particularly during Ford's early history. At first, there were no sink systems, and the grounds were never policed. Colonel Allen left sanitation duty to the prisoners themselves and early organizational attempts were thwarted by conflicts of authority among captives. Eventually dug with the planning of "Ford City," sinks reduced widespread uncleanness. Still, the problem of trash removal remained. Sutton recorded that maggot-filled piles containing "bones, lice, hair, rags, filth of an indescribable kind" filled the compound. The initial remedy was burning, but soon fire would not "take hold." Sutton approached Colonel Anderson about the situation to no avail. Not taken seriously until a Confederate officer stepped backward into one of the refuse piles while calling roll one morning, Sutton finally convinced Anderson to provide a wagon, a team, and some shovels with which captives could remove trash from the stockade. Choosing a "small, boyish looking" inmate to drive the cart, Colonel Anderson gave him directions to a dump site and designated a special guard detail to oversee operations.[42]

Physically, Federal prisoners suffered miserably due to a dearth of appropriate medical care. Spiritually and emotionally, captives maintained a sense of hope because of their undying patriotism. Despite feelings of neglect by the United States government in matters of supplies and exchange, captives resented "any flings or insults" toward the American flag and expressed "sentiments within them by singing national songs" and by celebrating important national holidays.[43]

Planning a grand celebration for Washington's Birthday in 1864, confined officers arranged a program of events that included an oration by Lieutenant Colonel Leake and the reading of an original poem by Lieutenant Colonel Duganne. In honor of the occasion, prisoners held a mock election for the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, treasurer, superintendent of insane hospitals, and attorney general. A voter registration board, overseen by Surgeon J.W. Sherfy, 1st Lieutenant John P. Robens of the 176th New York Infantry, and 2nd Lieutenant Charles Avery of the 25th Connecticut Infantry, manned the polls, open from sunrise to sunset. Sam Morton of Indians won the governor's seat and was "taken in a chair through the camp with great *eclat*." Ending the day's festivities with a grand ball, captives enjoyed the stirring renditions of their "singing club," as well as several patriotic tunes played by a "band of minstrels" composed of violinist Captain William H. May of the 23rd Connecticut Infantry, banjo player Engineer R.W. Mars of the *Diana*, flutist Captain Samuel E. Thomason of the 176th New York Infantry, and fife player 1st Lieutenant Elisha J. Collins of the

26th Indiana Infantry. The most memorable event of the day, however, did not appear on the program. Springing from the door of the Hawkeye Mess, a survivor of the *Morning Light* waved a tattered American flag, quickly hiding it to avoid detection by the guards.[44]

Similar festivities marked the July 4th holiday in 1864, championed by Colonel Isaac Burrell. Prisoners raised a platform under the verandah of Lieutenant Colonel Duganne's cabin, winding red, white, and blue blankets around the posts. Marked by much oration, poetry, and singing, this assemblage was twice threatened by irate guards. Unaware that Lieutenant Colonel John P. Border, prison commandant, had given his permission for such an event, sentries ordered the inmates to disperse. The celebration proceeded as planned when the officer of the day verified Border's consent. Toasting without drinks, revelers crooned "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "God Save America." Once again, a patriotic inmate (this time a survivor the *Clifton*) unfurled the American flag, much to the delight of his fellow prisoners.[45]

In addition to patriotism, faith in God also sustained forlorn prisoners' hopes throughout their lengthy confinements. Chaplains Hamilton Robb of the 46th Indiana Infantry and John S. McCulloch of the 77th Illinois Infantry tried to evoke "religious sentiment" with frequent prayer meetings, held almost every evening when weather permitted. Religious officers even bestowed the rites of baptism on some converts, such as 2nd Lieutenant Brown P. Stowell of the 42nd Massachusetts Infantry. With the hearty approval of Colonel Allen, an ardent Free Will Baptist, chaplains conducted interdenominational services every Sunday morning near the Quartermaster's Grave, the final resting place of 1st Lieutenant John F. Kimball of the 176th New York Infantry. With chaplains benefiting from frequent exchange because of their noncombative mission, religious duties changed hands often. In fact, the Confederate guards' chaplain preached twice. The only chaplain who faced lengthy confinement was Reverent H.B. Lamb, whose service with a black regiment entailed deep prejudices among his Rebel captors.[46]

Religion was only a part of daily life at Camp Ford. Rising before dawn, inmates filled the main thoroughfare, calling to one another and gathering "fuel, rations, and water vessels." After a quick wash at the spring and a nibble of breakfast, captives reported to the appropriate ward for roll call at the prompting of the Confederate drummer. A mounted adjutant, followed by approximately twenty musketed guards and several officers holding prisoner lists, entered the compound and busied themselves with separate Union detachments. Initially, officers called or spelled out names, listening for a response. Later, officials instituted a numerical count to deter captives from answering for escapees. In at least one instance, headcounting counteracted the effects of illiteracy among Confederate roll officers. The sergeant in charge of Sutton's ward deputized "the First Sergeant of each Yankee Company to call" instead of carrying out the duty himself. Sutton suspected that this Rebel could not read and proved his suspicions by omitting several names while the Confederate looked over his shoulder.[47]

After dismissal at roll call, officials allowed their inmates free range of the stockade. Various activities ensued, depending on the inclinations of individual prisoners. Some wiled away their time by "gambling, cheating,

stealing, and fighting." Gambling activities were constant and varied at Keno Corner, according to Sutton, and were the perpetual target of Lieutenant Colonel Border's adjutant, Lieutenant B.W. McEachen. Described as a "swell-headed hellyon" who only behaved properly if his superiors were nearby, Lieutenant McEachen tried his best to break up games of chance, such as Keno. Some prisoners shared Lieutenant McEachen's views on the subject, particularly because several of their counterparts held tampered lotteries wherein donors "in two thirds of the cases, draw the prizes themselves."[48]

Not everyone engaged in such pursuits. Some men attempted to grow gardens while others occupied themselves with repairs to their quarters. Still others read books, played chess, and engaged in intellectual conversation. According to Duganne, "more venerable prisoners" sat and gossiped "in their armchairs" while younger captives played various forms of sports, including baseball and quoits, a game similar to horseshoes. Several inmates erected turning-poles and parallel bars in the central square for physical exercise. By far, the most impressive activity in "Ford City" was the establishment of a commercial district where prisoners provided goods and services for their fellow captives, and for their guards in some instances.[49]

Passing along the wisdom that he gained while confined at Camp Groce, Colonel Nott urged lethargic prisoners to become industrious and to use whatever talents they had to help pass the time. Among the first products to appear were handcarved trinkets such as "rings, toothpicks, combs, dominoes, and dice." Rings were a favorite "Reb" trinket, bought at "fancy" prices. Invariably, guards went away grumbling about a "damn Yankee trick." Other items fetched handsome prices as well, such as a set of chessmen carved by 1st Lieutenant John A. Woodward of the 23rd Connecticut Infantry that brought in fifty dollars in greenbacks.[50]

Acting Master Amos Johnson devised Ford's first turning-lathe and "inaugurated chair-making," producing every style: "Gothic, rustic, cane-backed, willow-woven, grape-vine-wrought, and oaken-ribben." He gave his first issue to his messmate, acting Volunteer Lieutenant Frederick Crocker. Other captives imitated Johnson and turned wooden trinkets on hand-made machines, including 1st Lieutenant Woodward and Acting 3rd Assistant Engineer William Johnson of the *Diana*.[51]

Nearly every occupation manifested itself in some form in the business district. Ford City boasted a tailor, a cobbler, a baker, a banker – and two editors. Captain William May, violinist for the local band, hand-scribed a small newspaper called *The Old Flag*, a venue for tongue-in-cheek commentaries on prison life, announcements of upcoming events, and advertisements for local businesses. Issued only three times (February 17, March 1, and March 13, 1864), it enlivened many monotonous days as it passed from hand to hand throughout the stockade. Its advertisers included Stevens' Drug Store; L.P. Walsh, cigar manufacturer; C. Bailey, "Professional Hair-Cutter;" Dr. Hershey, "Physician and Surgeon;" and H. Hay-Ley's "Soap Manufactory." Captain Lewis Burger contrived another news sheet, issued only once on May 1, 1865, called *The Camp Ford News*.[52]

Corporal Sutton ventured into the commercial realm as well. Finding that he needed more money to buy tobacco, Sutton refused to gamble away what

little funds he had left. One day, he met Private James Doran, of Company D, 83rd Ohio Infantry, who ran a shaving business. Seeing an opportunity, Sutton used his last five dollars to procure a pair of scissors from the sailors' quarters. Forming a partnership, Doran agreed to do all the shaving and half the shampooing if Sutton would shampoo and cut hair. Clearing at least five dollars every day, Doran and Sutton charged ten cents per haircut, ten cents per shave, and twenty-five cents per shampoo. Eventually, these two inmates sought to expand their business, setting up shop on the north side of Sutton's mess. The new shop had two stools, one with a slip yoke to adjust its height. Whenever they experienced an occasional lag in patronage, Sutton would perch himself atop one of the stools and "run over all the tom foolery" that he could muster and would then auction anything he had for sale or trade. Most of the time, Doran and Sutton "got steady work ... from sun up to sun down." Business was so profitable, in fact, that Sutton hired a messmate to cook his supper.[53]

Longing to hear news from home and from the front, inmates yearned to receive mail. Letters that eventually arrived were few and far between, as in the case of Captain Cyrus Savage and 2nd Lieutenant Thaddeus H. Newcomb of the 42nd Massachusetts Infantry. They received letters on June 10, 1864, that were dated February 28 and March 4. Prisoners could not send or receive mail, except under a flag of truce. Mail service quickened during the last six months at Camp Ford, subject to thorough examination by prison officials. Gathering eagerly around the mail orderly, captives passed letters overhead to joyful recipients.[54]

Another source of information involved the so-called "police telegraph," an unsuspected method of talking with Union sympathizers who were incarcerated in the "wolf-pen." Selected captives took turns committing minor transgressions, such as being late for roll call. For these petty infractions, violators spent the day in the "wolf-pen," restricted to corn and water. A leisurely day of conversation ensued, a comfort to both Federal inmates and Southern Unionists.[55]

Aside from *The Old Flag* and *The Camp Ford News*, prisoners perused weekly Southern newspapers and devoured occasional Northern issues. Mr. Cushing, editor of the *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, regularly sent his paper to Lieutenant Colonel Duganne and Acting Volunteer Lieutenant Crocker, who deemed it fairly accurate despite its obvious Southern bias. Cushing also sent Duganne a "half-ream of good writing-paper" with which Duganne replenished his own stock and which he shared with his fellow captives.[56]

The world outside of the stockade fascinated the captives penned inside, and the lure of freedom inspired many to plot their own inconspicuous exists. Escape attempts were numerous but on the whole, unsuccessful. Obstacles abounded, both inside the stockade and outside the compound as well. With increasing attempts, guards watched prisoners more intently and roll officers counted inmates more thoroughly. Once an escapee passed through the stockade, abundant pickets and conscripts were likely to spot him. Furthermore, an "old

western trapper" named Chillicothe circled the perimeter every morning with a dozen hunting dogs, hoping to catch a fresh trail. Described by Sutton as "meaner than the dogs in his keeping," Chillicothe boasted that he could "out-Indian Indians." If an escapee was fortunate enough to evade this "expert tracker," he had to battle intense hunger and exhaustion. Union lines were usually more than 300 miles away, a distance too great to travel on an empty stomach. Turned in by loyal farmwives, most recaptured inmates deeply regretted going to a nearby house to beg for food.[57]

Despite the overwhelming odds, prisoners still attempted to escape. Their methods were various, ranging from tunneling out to hiding under the trash in the dump cart. One prisoner even slipped away while serving on a firewood detail. Joseph T. Mills of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry happened across a disabled prisoner from the 6th Kansas Cavalry, who agreed to fill the void in the detail if Mills or his accomplice John T. Roberts – a spy employed in "Lieutenant Earl's United States Secret Service" posing as a member of the 2nd New York Cavalry – chose to flee. Roberts took the initiative, and Mills joined him later that evening by scaling the stockade wall.[58]

Tunneling was the least effective means of egress because tracking dogs easily picked up scents at the obvious opening in the ground. One effort failed before anyone even ventured to break ground outside of the stockade. Around mid-February 1864, members of the "Hawkeye Mess" began tunneling through the floor of their fireplace, covering the opening with a false bottom. The shaft shank eight feet deep and pointed toward the northern stockade wall, leading to the Quartermaster's Grave, just beyond the line of sentinels. Digging in shifts, messmates packed excess dirt into a cigar box and dumped it in the fireplaces of neighboring quarters, ostensibly to "raise the hearths," thereby allaying suspicion. Operations seemed to be proceeding well until another inmate informed the guard about their plan. Most of these prisoners later escaped with Lieutenant Colonel Augustine D. Rose of the 26th Indiana Volunteer Infantry by pulling back a stockade post while the band and singing club distracted the guard with a stirring rendition of "Dixie." Not even reaching the Sabine River, the forces of exhaustion and the instinct of Chillicothe led to their speedy recapture.[59]

Others tried to escape by hiding under the trash in the dump cart. Loyal to his comrades, the driver knew of every maneuver and dumped his load in an advantageous spot, being careful not to arouse suspicion. In order to divert guard's attention, inmates would try to vend their trinkets. If that method failed, two men would feign a fight, awaiting the signal to disperse – a shovel striking the cart wheels. In the meantime, accomplices would cover two escapees with blankets and pile refuse on top of them. Unimpeded, the cart passed through the upper gate and headed for the dump site. If a potential escapee failed in either timing or attempt, he lost his turn in the "Palace Cart."[60]

Private Horace B. Little of the 43rd Indiana Infantry complained that he had nothing to do but plan his escape when he arrived at Camp

Ford. After much consternation, Little decided to forge a nurse's pass with the help of a New Yorker with excellent penmanship. He had to find two accomplices because all nurses had two assistants; otherwise, he would arouse the sentry's suspicion. Other members of the 43rd Indiana answered for Little and his comrades until the eighth day after their escape, when officials held a general muster. When Little and his allies did not answer roll, the guards immediately put the hounds on their trail, but to no avail.[61]

Despite consistently being recaptured, Private Xerxes Knox of the 3rd Iowa Cavalry persisted in his attempts to flee Camp Ford. His first adventure, in late June 1864, took him over the stockade wall, with the aid of his messmate Private Etheanan Burks, only to be recaptured and chained to a log at the guard-house on July 4, 1864. In early August he tried again. Knox and an accomplice named Brown left the stockade by way of the "Palace Cart," making it all the way to Fort Gibson in Indian Territory on September 5. Recaptured once more, he left Ford yet again on November 19, 1864 – this time successfully.[62]

As the war progressed and the guards became more lax, prisoners began to "exchange" themselves, using passes written by sympathetic sentinels. Within one week, approximately 100 inmates left the compound under these pretenses. Prison commandant Jemison, visibly annoyed that his guards were instrumental in such escapes, conferred with his superior officer, Tyler post commander Colonel W.R. Bradfute, who issued an order revoking any paroles or leave passes that did not bear his personal approval. Thereafter, firewood details went out only under heavy guard, and a new curfew required all inmates to remain in their quarters from sunset to dawn, with the call for lights out at 8:00 p.m. Under orders to shoot any violators, guards became ever more vigilant in their patrols, not wanting to incur the wrath of their superiors. In one notable incident, a captive who had obtained permission from two guards to leave his quarters in order to visit the sinks fell victim to a third guard's fire as he stopped over his doorsill.[63]

Invariably, those prisoners who tried to escape did not trust that prisoner exchange agents would rescue them from captivity. Indeed, such relief offered no promise because the Union War Department suspended the cartel in 1863. 1st Lieutenant Cowdin noted in his diary entry on December 28, 1863, that a letter from Colonel Leake's contingent, sent forth for exchange at Shreveport on Christmas Day, stated that their paroles had been revoked. Along with the Camp Groce enlisted captives sent to Louisiana earlier in December, these despondent men marched back to Camp Ford in the latter part of March, dispelling all hope of further exchange. Sutton commented that many inmates harbored hard feelings toward Federal government and could not understand this situation. They felt that exchange agents had grown unsympathetic to their plight, believing that if these officials could experience captivity, exchange would be more frequent.[64]

Irate inmates later realized that Federal officials had a valid reason to curtail the exchange process. Northern and Southern agents fought

bitterly over the status of black captives, with the Confederacy tending to treat black Federals quite differently than white soldiers and sailors. In a letter to Major General Benjamin F. Butler, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant made his intentions quite clear. In matters of exchange, no plausible distinction could be made between white and black prisoners, "the only question being, were they at the time of their capture in the military service of the United States." Any distinction made or prejudice shown by Confederate exchange officials constituted a breach of further exchange negotiations. Most prisoners braced themselves for a lengthy stay, confident that their government would do all that it could "without compromising principle or honor." Nor did prisoners realize that the treatment of black troops was not the only issue at stake. Confederates consistently returned parolees to active duty, proclaiming them exchanged due to alleged "technical irregularities" present in their paperwork. Grant argued that the Confederate army benefited from exchange, replenishing its dwindling ranks with relatively healthy troops, while captives in Southern pens were unable to return to duty because they suffered from disease and malnutrition.[65]

Naval exchange experienced a two-year delay because Confederates refused to trade sailors for anyone except other naval personnel. The only Confederate naval inmates in Union hands, however, were a few captives from Mobile Bay. Since these prisoners were not members of the Trans-Mississippi Department, they could not be readily swapped for naval inmates confined at Camp Ford. Major Ignatius Szymanski, Confederate exchange agent for the Trans-Mississippi Department, had to obtain authorization from the Confederate capitol at Richmond, Virginia, before initiating any naval trade.[66]

With the spring and summer of 1864 came more frequent incidences of exchange. Shortly after Lieutenant Colonel Rose and his allies attempted to escape through the stockade wall, Lieutenant Colonel Leake's contingent marched once again to Shreveport to be forwarded for exchange near Alexandria. Early May brought a visit from a Confederate officer who recorded names of many prisoners in preparation for a June 1st exchange of approximately 200 ill Union inmates. Around the first of July, chaplains captured at Mansfield, surgeons, and several civilian prisoners left under parole, but without an escort. To the overwhelming joy of the older captives, Colonel Isaac Burrell announced the arrival of a Confederate paroling officer on July 5. Preparing for their July 9th departure, enraptured prisoners spent July 7 and 8 baking "hard bread" for the march to Shreveport. On the morning of July 9, 930 officers and enlisteds left Camp Ford to return to their units. With July 28 came the exchange of several Ford inmates for members of the Louisiana brigade and for all Confederate Army officers and enlisted personnel then held by General Steele. Still another exchange took place on October 1, with approximately 600 men leaving the stockade.[67]

Coming with the month of May 1865 were rumors of the Lincoln assassination and Lee's surrender to Grant. On May 13, Captain Birchett, a Confederate paroling officer, brought in a large mail ship-

ment and several Northern newspapers, all of which confirmed those rampant whisperings. On May 14, most of the Reserve Corps dismissed themselves, leaving only the 15th Texas Cavalry to guard. Not concerned with the activities of their charges, these guards allowed the inmates to roam the countryside freely, and to the credit of both Confederates and Federals, there were no incidences of violence. Awaiting rations from Tyler, captives spent three more days in the old stockade. When provisions did not arrive, Confederates procured a wagon and ox team to transport those prisoners who were too weak to march to Shreveport. Before leaving Ford forever, a detail under 1st Lieutenant Henry J. Wyman and 2nd Lt. Charles F. McCulloch of the 77th Illinois Infantry erected a post and rail fence around the small prison cemetery, enclosing one acre of land and 282 graves. Union occupation forces quickly descended on the town of Tyler after Ford's prisoners departed. "Maj. Thomas D. Fredenburg and a detail of the Tenth Illinois Cavalry" destroyed the stockade, relishing their actions as they remembered their own confinement at Camp Ford.[68]

Despite limited resources and infrequent exchanges, Union prisoners confined at Camp Ford managed to relieve the obvious monotony that captivity entailed. Through industrial and recreational pursuits, captives maintained their sanity and sense of self-worth while patriotism and religious faith fostered hope for freedom and dreams of home. Developing almost familial relationships with their fellow inmates, Camp Ford captives endured seemingly endless confinement as a loyal community, determined to uphold the ideals of their country.

NOTES

[1]S.A. Swiggett, *The Bright Side of Prison Life* (Baltimore, MD, 1897) p. 44; W.H. Bentley, *History of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry* (Peoria, IL, 1883) p. 304; Albert Woldert, *A History of Tyler and Smith County, Texas* (San Antonio, TX, 1948) p. 40. Bentley estimated that the prisoner population of Ford eventually reached 4700, whereas W.W. Funderburgh, a former Ford guard, told Woldert that the total population, including guards, peaked at 6000.

[2]F. Lee Lawrence and Robert W. Glover, *Camp Ford C.S.A.: The Story of Union Prisoners in Texas* (Austin, TX, 1964) pp. 3-5; W.W. Heartsill, *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army*. Bell Irvin Wiley, ed. (Wilmington, NC, 1987) p. 191.

[3]Lawrence and Glover, *Camp Ford*, pp. 4, 6-7.

[4]A.J.H. Duganne, *Camps and Prisons: Twenty Months in the Department of the Gulf* (New York, 1865) pp. 329-330.

[5]Lawrence and Glover, *Camp Ford*, pp. 4-6; Maj. Thomas F. Tucker, letter to Maj. E.P. Turner, November 7, 1863, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC, 1880-1901) II, 6, p. 484 (hereafter *OR*); David G. MacLean, ed., *Prisoner of the Rebels in Texas: The Civil War Narrative of Aaron T. Sutton, Corporal, 83rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry* (Decatur, IN, 1978) p. 11; Woldert, *History*, pp. 39-40; Horace B. Little, "Reminiscences of the Civil War: Escape from Fort Tyler Prison," *Indiana Magazine of History* 13 (March 1917): pp. 42, 45; Bentley, *History*, p. 288.

[6]Gary E. Wilson, ed., "Diary of a Union Prisoner in Texas," *Southern Studies* 23 (Spring 1984): p. 118; Heartsill, *1491*, pp. 192, 199, 200; Charles P. Bosson, *History of the Forty-Second Regiment Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteers, 1862, 1863, 1864* (Boston, 1886) pp. 427, 432-433; Charles C. Nott, Lt. Col. J.B. Leake, Lt. Col. A.D. Rose, Lt. Col. John Cowan, and Capt. E.B. Hall, letter to General Comdg. U.S. Forces, Department of the Gulf, June 7, 1864, in *OR* II, 7, p. 208. Nott reported that 831 prisoners at Ford had been captured between January 1, 1863, and September 29, 1863.

[7]Charles C. Nott, *Sketches in Prison Camps*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1865) p. 192; Duganne, *Camps*, p. 376; Bentley, *History*, p. 290; Heartsill, *1491*, pp. 200-210, 204-209.

[8]Woldert, *History*, p. 39; Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 335-336; Bentley, *History*, p. 305.

[9]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 336-337; MacLean, *Prisoner*, p. 11.

[10]Tucker to Turner, November 7, 1863. *OR* II, 6, p. 484; Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 329-330; Wilson, "Diary," p. 118; Bosson, *History*, p. 427.

[11]Wilson, "Diary," pp. 118-119; Bosson, *History*, p. 427.

[12]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 328-329, 338-339.

[13]Swiggett, *Bright*, p. 46; Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 333, 377.

[14]Bentley, *History*, pp. 288-289; MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 12-13; Duganne, *Camps*, p. 376; Lawrence, *Camp*, pp. 5-6.

[15]MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 12-13. Keno is "a gambling game in which players cover numbers on their cards as those numbers are chosen from the cage ('goose') or wheel of chance. The first five numbers in a row wins the prize. Similar to lotto or bingo." (Maclean, *Prisoner*, p. 174).

[16]MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 18-20.

[17]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 376-377.

[18]Bentley, *History*, p. 291.

[19]Tucker to Turner, November 7, 1863, *OR* II, 6, p. 484; Thomas Ludwell Bryan, "The Old Stockade," *Chronicles of Smith County, Texas* 12 (Summer 1973): p. 24; Little, "Reminiscences," p. 45; Woldert, *History*, p. 40. White males who could not serve in regular Confederate organizations because they were either younger than eighteen or older than forty-five years of age performed guard duty and local defense as members of the Reserve Corps. (Lawrence and Glover, *Camp Ford*, p. 39.)

[20]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 330-331; Heartsill, *1491*, pp. 191, 197, 198, 199, 201, 204, 205, 206, 210.

[21]Swiggett, *Bright*, p. 112; Heartsill, *1491*, p. 210; Bentley, *History*, p. 298; Woldert, *History*, p. 40.

[22]MacLean, *Prisoner*, p. 20; Wilson, "Diary," p. 118; General Affidavit, Thomas H. Pace, July 30, 1888 (Xerxes Knox Papers, Smith County Historical Society Archives, Tyler, Texas, hereafter SCHSA); Duganne, *Camps*, p. 377; Bentley, *History*, p. 292.

[23]MacLean, *Prisoner*, p. 36; Little, "Reminiscences," p. 43; Bentley, *History*, pp. 290, 292.

[24]MacLean, *Prisoner*, p. 36; Duganne, *Camps*, p. 387.

[25]Wilson, "Diary," p. 119; Nott, *Sketches*, pp. 153-156.

[26]MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 37-38; Bentley, *History*, p. 295.

[27]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 376-378.

[28]Duganne, *Camps*, p. 381; Tucker to Turner, November 7, 1863, *OR* II, 6, p. 484; Bosson, *History*, pp. 432-433, 435; Nott, et al., to General Comdg., June 7, 1864, *OR* II, 7, p. 208.

[29]Col. Charles C. Nott, Lt. Col. J.B. Leake, Lt. Col. John Cowan, and Capt. E.G. Hall, letter to Gen. E. Kirby Smith, June 7, 1864, in *OR* II, 7, p. 208.

[30]Frederick Crocker, letter to Rear-Admiral D.G. Farragut, June 7, 1864, in *OR* II, 7, p. 209.

[31]Bosson, *History*, p. 432.

[32]Nott, et al., to General Comdg., June 7, 1864, *OR* II, 7, p. 209; Crocker to Farragut, June 7, 1864, *OR* II, 7, p. 209; Bentley, *History*, p. 305. Nott requested a six-month supply of medicines for 4,527 men: "Quinine, calomel, blue mass, proto iodide of mercury, muriated tinc, iron, nitrate silver, nitrate potash, sulphate magnesia, small quantity of assorted medicine, castile soap, opium, Dover's powders, morphine, ipecac, antimony, carbonate ammonia, camphor (gum), stimulants." Crocker requested most of these items for his naval comrades as well.

[33]Heartsill, *1491*, pp. 198, 208-209; Henry McArthur, Memoir 1863-1864, Biography 1835-1905, (*Civil War Times Illustrated* Collection, United States Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, PA), pp. 31, 34-35.

[34]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 414-415.

[35]Meagher to Hayden, June 14, 1864, in Duganne, *Camps*, p. 415.

[36]George W. Martin, "A Kansas Soldier's Escape from Camp Ford, Texas," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society* 8 (1903-1904): p. 409.

[37]J.G. Walker, letter to Col. George H. Sweet, Oct. 2, 1864, in *OR* II, 7, p. 913; J.G. Walker, letter to Surgeon D.W. Yandell, Oct. 2, 1864, in *OR* II, 7, p. 913; Bentley, *History*, pp. 298-305.

[38]Wilson, "Diary," pp. 118-119; General Affidavit, Thomas H. Pace, July 30, 1888 (Xerxes Knox Papers, SCHSA); General Affidavit, E.W. Burks, September 21, 1886 (Xerxes Knox Papers, SCHSA); Bentley, *History*, pp. 298-299; J.M. McCulloch, letter to "Colonel," Feb. 8, 1865, in *OR* II, 8, p. 196.

[39]MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 35-36.

[40]MacLean, *Prisoner*, p. 11.

[41]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 382-384.

[42]Bosson, *History*, p. 431; Swiggett, *Bright*, p. 46; MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 22-24; Little, "Reminiscences," p. 43.

[43]Bosson, *History*, 436; Nott, et al., to General Comdg., June 7, 1864, *OR* II, 7, 208.

[44]Bosson, *History*, pp. 428-429; Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 339-340; *The Old Flag*, February 17, 1864: p. 1; Bentley, *History*, p. 294; Captain William May, "They Raised 'Old Glory,'" in *The Old Flag: 50th Anniversary, 1864-1914* (Bridgeport, CT, 1914).

[45]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 417-418; McArthur Memoir (*CWTI* Collection, USAMHI), p. 35.

[46]Bosson, *History*, pp. 433-434; Bentley, *History*, p. 294; Swiggett, *Bright*, p. 61; Duganne, *Camps*, p. 410.

[47]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 380-381, 387; Swiggett, *Bright*, pp. 53-54; MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 53-54.

[48]Little, "Reminiscences," p. 43; Bentley, *History*, p. 293; MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 13, 21; Lawrence and Glover, *Camp Ford*, pp. 44-45.

[49]*The Old Flag* 17 Feb. 1864: p. 2; Bosson, *History*, p. 428; Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 361, 387, 389; Bentley, *History*, p. 293.

[50]Nott, *Sketches*, p. 170; MacLean, *Prisoner*, p. 21; *The Old Flag* February 17, 1864: p. 2.

[51]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 334-335, 337.

[52]Bentley, *History*, p. 293; *The Old Flag* February 17, 1864: p. 4; Bosson, *History*, p. 429; Lawrence and Glover, *Camp Ford*, p. 37n.

[53]MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 15-16, 20.

[54]Bosson, *History*, p. 435; Bentley, *History*, p. 292.

[55]Duganne, *Camps*, p. 336.

[56]Duganne, *Camps*, p. 358.

[57]Nott, *Sketches*, pp. 179-180; MacLean, *Prisoner*, p. 28; Duganne, *Camps*, p. 354; Little, "Reminiscences," p. 44. Most accounts refer to Chillicothe's dogs as bloodhounds; however, they were most likely of the "common East Texas hound variety, used even today to hunt raccoons and foxes." Accustomed to human scents, these may have been "Negro dogs," used to track fugitive slaves. (Lawrence and Glover, *Camp Ford*, p. 55)

[58]"Joseph T. Mills," typescript biographical sketch (SCHSA) pp. 1-2.

[59]Swiggett, *Bright*, pp. 66-67, 71, 91; Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 346-354; Woldert, *History*, p. 40.

[60]MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 30-32.

[61]Little, "Reminiscences," pp. 43-48.

[62]General Affidavit, E.W. Burks, September 21, 1886 (Xerxes Knox Papers, SCHSA); Statement of Etheanan W. Burks, January 29, 1889 (Xerxes Knox Papers, SCHSA); Xerxes Knox, letter to James Garner, March 31, 1889 (Xerxes Knox Papers, SCHSA); War Department Adjutant General's Office, Washington, to Commissioner of Pensions, August 5, 1886. (Xerxes Knox Papers, SCHSA).

[63]Bentley, *History*, pp. 299-301.

[64]Bosson, *History*, p. 428; Wilson, "Diary," p. 119; S.S. Anderson, letter to Maj. Gen. Magruder, November 10, 1863, in *OR* II, 6, pp. 498-499; MacLean, *Prisoner*, p. 36.

[65]U.S. Grant, letter to Maj. Gen. B.F. Butler, April 17, 1864, in *OR* II, 7, pp. 62-63; McCulloch, letter to "Colonel," February 8, 1865, *OR* II, 8, p. 196; James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), pp. 792, 799.

[66]Charles C. Dwight, letter to Maj. Gen. E.R.S. Canby, October 28, 1864, in *OR* II, 7, p. 1057; lg. Szymanski, letter to Charles C. Dwight, September 4, 1864, in *OR* II, 7, p. 764.

[67]Duganne, *Camps*, pp. 358, 416; MacLean, *Prisoner*, pp. 20-21; Bosson, *History*, pp. 435-436; "Cartel for the Exchange of Prisoners Captured, Respectively, from the Commands of Maj. Gen. E.R.S. Canby, U.S. Army, and General E. Kirby Smith, C.S. Army, Made at Red River Landing, LA., July 28, 1864; in *OR* II, 7, p. 508; Bentley, *History*, p. 290.

[68]Bentley, *History*, pp. 301-303, 305; Swiggett, *Bright*, pp. 216-218; Lawrence and Glover, *Camp Ford*, p. 79.

KIRBYVILLE, A 100-YEAR CELEBRATION

by Kenneth Morgan

Before railroads came to the piney woods of East Texas, lumber companies found it easier to set up sawmills where the timber was located rather than transport heavy logs over long distances. In some cases, it was convenient to cut logs near a river and float them to their final destination. This worked well for awhile, but in a matter of a few years, the supply was depleted.

In 1876, Texas Tram and Lumber Company of Beaumont established a logging camp at Cairo (near Buna) where they operated until 1882. The company moved operations to Magnolia Springs where it seemed there was an endless supply of timber. After twelve years of continuous cutting, the company found it necessary to set up logging camps farther from the Neches River to supply its mills in Beaumont.

One such camp was called Tram Town, located about twelve miles southeast of Magnolia Springs. Several things made the area attractive to officials of Texas Tram and Lumber Company. As far as the eye could see were stands of large long leaf pines with little brush or undergrowth to make their harvesting difficult. For the most part, the land was flat with few hills and steep inclines to hinder logging operations. A major factor causing the company to choose the site was that John Henry Kirby's new railroad was coming directly through the area. Since mud is always a factor in logging camps, the selected site was well-drained with a watershed to the north, east, and south. A main east-west thoroughfare was established through the camp with mule lots and harness sheds lying mostly on the south side. There were enclosures for oxen and sheds for tools, yokes, and log carts.

Until the arrival of the first railroad, logs were transported by tram line, log wagon, or cart, and put in the Neches River at various locations, including Wright's landing, located a few miles southwest of Magnolia Springs, from whence they were floated downstream to Beaumont.

Late in 1894, John Henry Kirby bought 276 acres from Texas Tram and Lumber Company to lay out a townsite, and hired Captain E.T. Kellie of Jasper to survey and plot the town which was named for Mr. Kirby. Within a matter of months, the task had been accomplished and newspaper ads appeared in most Southeast Texas cities advertising lots and inviting people to attend an auction on May 1, 1895.

On that date, approximately 1000 people gathered near the newly-built Gulf, Beaumont and Kansas City Railroad tracks that extended just past Main Street, waiting for the sound of a train whistle. A hush fell over the crowd as a series of blasts were heard, followed by the chugging of the locomotive itself. As the engine and seven coaches came to a noisy stop near the end of the tracks, an eleven-piece band from Beaumont disembarked, followed by many excited passengers.

In a large tent an auctioneer from Houston started selling lots in the new town. An historical marker has been erected on the site where lots were sold

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on that first day to buyers from nearby areas as well as Beaumont, Houston, Galveston, and Louisiana.

Many of the streets of Kirbyville were named for relatives and friends of Kirby and his business associates. Lelia Street was named for Lelia Stewart Kirby, wife of John Henry Kirby. Harris Street was named for A.L. Harris, a business associate. Kellie Street was named for Jasper's Confederate war veteran, Captain E.I. Kellie. Vallie Street was named for Miss Vallie Fletcher of Beaumont. Lavielle Street was named for Lavielle Weathersby, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Lee Weathersby. Mrs. Weathersby was Kirby's sister.

The Roberts Addition of Kirbyville was developed by Carl Roberts, who married Juanita Stringer. The longest street in the addition was named Stringer, after the E.E. Stringer family. The last street to the north, running parallel to Stringer but still unopened to traffic, was named Conn for the Conn families. The street running in front of Trout Creek Lumber Company was named Herndon, since J.A. Herndon was the principal owner and manager.

Streets named for servicemen who gave their lives in World War II are: Shaw Guy, Doel Bean, Lester Hawthorne, Max Lee, Ray Fussel, J.C. Clax, Henry Robinson, Odis Cooper, Jr., Julian Morgan, Gus Griffiths, Tuck Beard, Harold McMahon, and J.P. Traylor. In 1988, portions of several streets were renamed to become one long street, Martin Luther King, Jr. There is also a (J.B.) Sanders Street.

At the time Captain E.I. Kellie surveyed the new townsite, many farm families already were established in the area. Among those whose descendants still live in Kirbyville were two Civil War veterans, John Benjamin Hale and James Joshua Gunter. A few years after the Civil War, John moved to Conroe and married Harriet Louisa, the fourth child of Benjamin W. and Pharbra Martin, on December 23, 1875. After living in San Saba County for awhile, they migrated to the East Texas area early in the 1890s.

After his first wife died in pregnancy, J.J. Gunter chose a new mate from the Horn family who lived near Zion Hill. He married olive-skinned, brown-eyed George Ann in the mid-1870s.

Kirbyville's first sawmill was built in 1896 by S.B. Conn and R.C. Withers and was located at the "Y" of the railroad near the present Community House. This mill was bought by Kirby Lumber Company, and it was there that the foundation timbers were milled for Kirby's big mill located on the west side of town in 1899, and called "Mill T." This facility had a capacity of 75,000 board feet daily, and its tall stacks blew smoke through "Smoky Row," the company houses where many of the workers lived. J.A. Herndon became manager of the mill in 1904, and it operated at full capacity until June 24, 1917, when it was destroyed by fire.

In 1925, Ross Cahal, P.V. Worthington, and J.T. Martin built a planer mill, kiln, and dry shed on a railroad switch in the city limits of Kirbyville. In 1927, J.A. Jerndon, O.C. Herndon, and R.E. Campbell purchased this business.

The large sawmill built by George Adams and Denny Call in 1895, and located four miles southeast of Kirbyville, had a great impact on the area. The town that sprang up around this mill became Call. The mill was bought in 1901 by Kirby Lumber Company and continued operations through April 30, 1953.

The founders of Kirbyville knew there would be a definite need for a school if the community was to prosper; so, in the plat, a square block on Main Street was dedicated for this purpose. A wooden school building built about 1904 to replace the original, small one constructed in 1896, burned in April 1917, and a three-story red brick building replaced it and remained in use until 1967, when it was demolished. In 1937, Martin Jr. High and a gym were built on the property immediately behind the red brick school, facing W. Lavielle Street. The present high school was built in 1956, junior high in 1979, and elementary in 1967.

W.B. Thomas, Jackson Wright, and J.B. Gandy were appointed in February 1897 by the Jasper County Commissioner's Court to serve as school trustees of the Kirbyville School District No. 11. Then, in 1899, an election was called to elect trustees, with Dave Lee as presiding judge and the school district assigned No. 14. The first elected trustees were R.C. Lanier, J.C. Watson, and Jack Woods. R.Y. Haynes served as the first school master, and received $70 a month. Miss Bertha Wright was the only other teacher, with a salary of $35 a month.

B.W. Martin became superintendent of the Kirbyville School in 1911 and served for thirty-four years. He was born in Tyler County, near Colmesneil, and married the former Miss Clara Mayo. The couple reared a family of four boys, all of whom became teachers.

The first church built in Kirbyville was placed on lots 11 and 12, block 28, which is on the west side of North Margaret Street, and was deeded by Kirby to the Baptist Church in February 1898. The building was used on alternate Sundays by Baptists and Methodists, with a union Sunday School organized in 1899 by Methodist Frank W. Wimberly. The Methodists built their own building in 1905 on the corner of West Lavielle and South Lelia – a part of their present site. The Baptists built a new frame building in 1916 on West Main, which is part of the present location of the First Baptist Church. The Church of Christ was organized in 1905, and their first building was located near the end of West Main Street.

The Kirbyville Post Office was established on June 10, 1895, and Robert L. Frazer was named the first postmaster. Early postmasters who succeeded Frazer included Fannie J. Kennedy, William H. Kennedy, Moses J. Lee, Jasper C. Williamson, C.K. Bradbury, Charles A. Ehret, Evye Kennedy, Rufus H. Windham, W.P. Dowling, R.E. Stewart, G.T. Shurbutt, Nell Gee Pryor, and A.D. Stout.

The city of Kirbyville incorporated in 1919, and Amos Conn was elected mayor. When his term expired, no one ran for the office, so the city de-incorporated, then re-incorporated for a second time in November 1926. The first city council included S.B. Conn, mayor, and aldermen T.J. Martin, J.R. Willis, J.H. Winton, Max Mixon, and Dr. U.B. Ogden. Among the first things on the council's agenda was to vote for a public water system and institute an ordinance banning livestock from the city's streets.

Officials of the city included Thomas A. Wilson, tax assessor and collector; A.G. Maxwell, city marshal; and T.G. Fortenberry, city secretary. In June 1927, R.J. Cooper, J.A. Conn, and T.G. Hicks were appointed to an equalization board.

Kirbyville mayors have included S.B. Conn, A.L. Watson, J.A. Herndon, Ferris D. Bean, Alton Cain, E.E. Stringer, W.E. Beathard, O.J. Bean, G.T. Sharbutt, J.A. Martindale, G.N. Couch, Bruce Reed, Victor Hamilton, Ed Bradley, and Jerry Nobles.

Jerry, son of J.W. Nobles, was reared in Kirbyville with siblings Della, Kathleen, Mamie, Acie, Dalton, Curtis, and Willis. He was graduated from The University of Texas and owned Jerry's Family Pharmacy.

Marion Bass, Wesley Young, and Bevis Skinner served as Kirbyville's constables. Those serving as justice of the peace have included Dan Howell, Tom Wilson, Darby McMahon, Floyd Morris, Leon Causey, Della Nobles Stewart, Faye Elverston, G.W. Gaskin, J.B. "Kuhn" Sanders, Carlton Daughterty, and Evelyn Weaver.

A prominent and colorful person who lived in Kirbyville was Thomas Asbury Wilson, more commonly called "Uncle Tom." Wilson was born in Newton County, the son of Asbury and Elizabeth Stewart Wilson, and the grandson of Francis Wilson, Methodist circuit rider from Virginia. Wilson married Miss Mary Elizabeth Wingate of Belgrade on July 12, 1898, and became the father of seven children. The sons were Carl Bassett, Earl Manning, Buster Bryan, and David Earl. The daughters were Thelma "Bitsy" Wilson Hawkins, Mary Wilson Daniels, and Elizabeth Wilson Downs.

Wilson attended Blum Male and Female College in Burkeville. With skills acquired there, he worked as assistant bookkeeper and commissary clerk for the Texas Tram and Lumber Company at its logging camp on the Neches River, and later at Magnolia Springs and Kirbyville. In 1902, Kirby Lumber Company took over the facilities of the Texas Tram, and Wilson remained until the sawmill burned fifteen years later. He entered the hardware and furniture business until the Great Depression forced him to close the store. Afterwards, he served as justice of the peace and tax assessor-collector for both the City of Kirbyville and the school district until his death.

"Uncle Tom" was a devoted Southerner and an ardent historian. Late in the 1920s he published a series of articles in the Kirbyville Banner on the history of the area and prominent East Texas families. This information has been compiled and put into a volume entitled *Some Early Southeast Texas Families* (1965), edited by Madeleine Martin. A companion volume, *More Early Southeast Texas Families* (1978), also by Martin, followed a few years later. Both volumes can be purchased at the Kirbyville Public Library and have been acclaimed by East Texas genealogists.

Thomas Wilson never forgot his East Texas heritage or the people he grew up with and served. He died at age seventy-seven on February 15, 1944, and his wife at the age of ninety-six on June 21, 1969. They are buried in the Kirbyville Cemetery.

Kirbyville was home to "Ivory" Joe Hunter, the son of Dave Hunter, a guitarist and preacher, and his wife Anna Smith Hunter, a gospel singer, who passed on their talents to their children. After the death of his parents, Joe and his six siblings were cared for by his uncle, J.F. Evans, and his wife, Georgia.

After moving to the West Coast in the 1940s, "Ivory" Joe Hunter became

famous as a piano player, country-blues singer, band leader, and composer. After years of playing in night clubs, he and others formed Pacific Records and produced several successful records before contracting with King Records. A most popular hit was his million-dollar seller, "Since I Met You, Baby" (1956). Hunter died in Memphis, Tennessee, on November 8, 1974, following a two-year bout with cancer. He is buried in Magnolia Springs Cemetery. Some of his siblings included Angus, Ramsey, Big Baby, George, Dooks, and Georgia.

Mixson Bros. Store is linked with Kirbyville's past and present in many ways. J.M. Mixson came to Kirbyville in 1895 and worked for his uncle, James Lee, of Jas. Lee & Co., who bought the present location of Mixson Bros. at the auction of town lots in 1895. In 1900, T.S. Wright became connected with the company, and the name changed to Mixson and Wright, until Wright sold his interest to L. Condor Stewart.

In 1907, the store assumed the name of Mixson Bros. When J.M. Mixson, C.A. Mixson, and J.I. Mixson purchased all the holdings. Later, J.I. Mixson moved to Buna and opened a store there. Mixson Bros. was a general mercantile store, including a dry goods side, until a fire in 1925 destroyed the store. When the store was rebuilt, H.C. Hopkins took over the dry goods side, with Mixson Bros. retaining a half interest. Hopkins later sold his interest to B.F. Gainer.

The Mixsons also operated a fertilizer plant and a cotton gin, and later moved their hardware to a separate building across Kellie Street from the main store.

J.M. Mixson was born in Coffee County, Alabama, came to Magnolia Springs in 1886, and married Florrie McKinnon on December 17, 1890. He was employed as a clerk in Jas. Lee & Co. store in Magnolia Springs, then moved to Kirbyville. Mixson was active in the Methodist Church where he served as steward and secretary-treasurer of the Sunday School from its organization until his final illness. At the time of his death he was president of Peoples State Bank. He died on June 19, 1932.

Jack Woods and his brother, B.A., purchased Newton's Drug Store in 1905, moved it across the street, and renamed it Woods Drug Store. R.J. Cooper had a cafe in the early days that was later run by his nephew, Roy Lea. The Lee brothers, Sam, Cleve and Dewitt, had a tailor shop where a beauty shop now stands. Ernest Jordan, now a Jasper resident, worked in the tailor shop in the 1920s and later at the Kirbyville State Bank for Silas B. Conn. Jordan was also one of Kirbyville's first tax collectors. J.W. Beeler was employed as cashier in the bank and organized the Beeler Bible Class at the United Methodist Church.

Other early Kirbyville businesses included A.L. Watson Jewelry; Frank Meyers, General Hardware; and a People's State Bank, owned by the Mixsons and run by Mamie Winton. Others were Kimborough's Candy Store, R.C. Conn and Company, established 1904, Markley's Ford Place, Abe Hardy's 5&10¢, F.L. Henry's Bottling Works, Harry Duther's Blind Tiger, and Hick's Mule Lot. R.J. Cooper provided entertainment first through his Opera House and by 1925 at the Palace Theatre.

Kirbyville has had many fine doctors in its 100-year history. Some of these were Dr. Tom Falvey, Dr. D.M. Childers, Dr. L.L. Winton, Dr. J.D. Yates, Dr. Dru McMickin, Dr. G.H. Spurlock, Dr. B.F. Bean, Dr. Frank Blow, Dr. J.B. Ogden, Dr. W.F. McCreight, and Dr. John Thomas Moore. Dentists included

Dr. Joe Simmons, Dr. J.C. Hawthorne, Dr. C.B. Lazenby, Dr. Lester Willis, Jr., Dr. Thurman Smith, and Dr. C.B. Caston.

Dr. B.F. Bean was a well-loved and generous individual. In 1925, when the Houston Oil Company deeded seven acres for a city cemetery, a Cemetery Association was formed, and they set a price of $3.50 for each grave. Dr. Bean bought and deeded five acres across the road for the use of anyone to be buried free. He was an avid bird hunter, and it was a common sight to see him ride out of town on a fine horse with shotgun cradled under his arm with his faithful bird dog "Frank" trotting alongside. Dr. Bean's "black bag" and medical instruments have been acquired by Dr. Wade Parker and donated to the Calaboose Museum.

Dr. W.F. McCreight, who began practicing medicine in Kirbyville on August 15, 1912, was another of the area's most-loved physicians. Originally coming to Kirbyville as a doctor for Kirby Lumber Company, he started the practice of medicine with little equipment, relying mainly on a thermometer, stethoscope, and a few minor instruments. On September 13, 1912, he married Miss Inez Scarborough, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Davis C. Scarborough, of Alba, Texas. He made his calls astride a big bay horse until he saved enough money to buy a "one-seat" buggy. In 1916, he was affluent enough to make a down payment on a Model-T Ford, which much improved his mobility when the roads were passable. When the flu epidemic of 1918 struck the area, Dr. McCreight lost only one patient.

On July 1, 1950, a young man who had just completed his medical training became associated with Dr. McCreight. Dr. Thomas Moore served the residents of the area with distinction for many years and became as respected as his mentor. Moore built the first clinic in Kirbyville on a property donated by Max Mixon. The facility was later enlarged and served many area residents. The clinic changed hands several times after Dr. Moore's death in 1981.

The East Texas Banner, formerly The Kirbyville Banner, was started by Roland Simmons in a small building on Main Street. By 1902, J.M. Scott owned the paper and later sold it to Jasper Williamson. It was later acquired by Mose Lee. Mrs. Rosa Long and Stanly Windham set type and Mildred Beavers of Call served as editor. At another time the Banner was owned by J.A. Herndon and Will Sharp. The next owners were two young Louisianians, Allen and Johnny Collett. Later, Denny O. Ingram bought the paper and moved all the equipment to a building adjacent to his home on east Lanier. Denny sold to Hunley and Robinson of Jasper, with Robert Sanders as editor and Dan Morrison, publisher.

Louise and Buck Herndon bought out the Jasper group, and the East Texas Banner is now located at the site of the old Opera House, later Cooper's Hotel, where the infamous outlaws Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow spent one night shortly before their deaths.

Rural electrification came to Kirbyville in the form of Jasper-Newton Electric Co-Op in 1943, with offices in a small building on Main Street. W.C. Cooper was manager, and Arbell Richardson and Delilah Tipton were two of the early workers. After Cooper left, Jack West was temporary manager for six months. Then, Troy Mitchell of San Augustine was employed there until Carl

Morgan, assistant manager, succeeded him. Morgan served with distinction until his retirement. His wife Bobbie worked in many local, state, and national leadership positions in various civic organizations.

Despite such setbacks as mill burnings and closings in the past 100 years, Kirbyville has evolved from a primitive logging camp with oxen and mule teams pulling heavy loads through muddy streets into a small town that has modernized without losing the flavor and atmosphere of its past. It is a living tribute to the people who worked together to prevent it from become just another East Texas "ghost town."

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE POLITICS OF RUNNING FOR CONGRESS: WRIGHT PATMAN AND THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1928, 1938, 1962, AND 1972

by Nancy Beck Young

"The Truth is, politics is the masses controlling. One who is against politics is against the people ruling and therefore against our American way of life and our Democratic form of government."
– Wright Patman, 1941

Historians and political scientists share an interest in the study of elections, one of the fundamental elements of our democracy. Historians tend to focus on the campaigns of a single individual or year, while political scientists study broader trends within the political process. An analysis of the problems political scientists study from the context of Wright Patman's career will provide new insights into the application of political science theory on one congressman's actual process of going before the voters.

Elected to Congress from the first district in northeast Texas in 1928 and continuously reelected until his death in 1976, Patman's twenty-four campaigns provide an ideal opportunity to examine the changing methods of running for office during the twentieth century. Patman's career suggests a framework for evaluating the advantages of incumbency as exemplified by the use of patronage and federal projects, especially regarding the appointment of postmasters, and its effect on the political process. Patman soon became a master of what Richard Fenno has since termed "home style" or keeping up with the needs of his district. Patman's career also provides an opportunity to explore the permanent campaign as a historical phenomenon. Conservatives – usually Democrats but sometimes Republicans – waged an ongoing challenge to the sitting congressman from the late 1930s through the early 1960s. How did Patman, noted for his Southern economic liberalism, manage these challenges? Finally, the latter years of Patman's career coincided with the rise of the Republican Party in the South. What was the response of an incumbent Democratic congressman to this important change on the political landscape?[1]

Patman made his initial race for Congress in 1928. He already had compiled an eight-year record of service in Northeast Texas, ranging from a seat in the Texas legislature to election as district attorney for the Texarkana region. Patman challenged a fourteen-year incumbent, Eugene Black, who had lost touch with his rural constituents. If Black stayed in Congress longer he would build enough seniority to thwart any challenger. Patman, at the age of thirty-four, needed to act before his window of opportunity closed. Black had not amassed a strong legislative record of accomplishment. Instead he preferred work behind the scenes. The Great Depression began well before the October 1929 market crash for rural Americans, who had suffered through a depressed agricultural economy in the 1920s, and the same was true for Black's district. Patman exploited Black's votes against various agricultural relief measures in the 1920s, including the McNary-Haugen bill, which proposed a system of

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price supports for American farmers and the sale at cost of agricultural commodities overseas.[2]

Patman did not simply rely on the conflicting visions of the political economy between himself and Black to gain favor with the voters. Instead, the aggressive young challenger plotted a campaign strategy that mixed modern techniques with older verities in hopes of overcoming Black's advantages of incumbency. Patman sought the support of James H. "Cyclone" Davis, a long time fixture in Texas politics who had been with the Farmers Alliance, the Populist Party, the Prohibition movement, the Ku Klux Klan, and a member of Congress from 1915-1917. Davis had challenged Black in 1922, and Patman supported the incumbent. In 1928, Patman relied on Davis to perform an advisory role in the preparation of campaign literature and statements. Patman also used Davis on his campaign staff in the latter months of the contest. Davis, a crowd pleaser, delivered several speeches for Patman.[3]

Opposition research played a key role in Patman's campaign. He communicated with the business, professional, and political leaders who could give him credible information about Black's record in Congress. A secondary purpose of these communications involved generating support for his own candidacy, because Patman already knew much of the information about which he inquired from the *Congressional Record*. Patman corresponded with the state and national chapters of the Anti-Saloon League about the extent of Black's support of prohibition measures. To make an issue of discriminatory freight rates, Patman solicited the support of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce. Patman corresponded with members of Congress about Black's legislative service, asked the American Federation of Labor for statistics about Black's voting record, and also sought information about the entirety of Black's congressional record from the Congressional Information Bureau. This pattern of thorough research into the background of his opposition became a Patman trademark.[4]

Mass mailings and numerous public appearances characterized Patman's maiden campaign for Congress, and he followed these strategies throughout the remainder of his congressional career. He secured various lists, including teachers, school trustees, and former jury members, for use in selected mailings throughout the district to gain support for his candidacy. Patman understood that each "list contains the names of good substantial citizens, and each list carries the names from almost every section of the country." He also made an aggressive speaking tour in the district, often covering the same territory as his opponent and delivering over ninety speeches during the course of the campaign.[5]

On the stump, Patman made a good appearance. He stood five-feet, ten-inches tall and had twinkling blue eyes. His hair, thick, dark, and curly, showed early signs of receding. Most important, he enjoyed the luxury of having a strong and powerful voice that was pleasing to his audience. Foreshadowing Lyndon B. Johnson's use of the helicopter in 1948, Patman relied on modern technology to make his canvass of the region. He drove one of the first Model A's in the area. He realized that "everybody was looking for the new Ford and I got more people to come see the Ford than to see me." When driving through the country the candidate would stop and talk to people about his campaign whenever two or more voters gathered around. Patman left nothing to chance.

He relied on associates to assist with such local arrangements as distributing posters and handbills. To generate the good will of other office seekers, Patman printed a circular containing important political information about filing deadlines and convention schedules and then distributed it to them. He prepared this political calendar for the remainder of his career.[6]

In the contest in 1928, Patman sold himself as a forthright young challenger trying to keep the campaign focused on the issues. But at every turn he attacked some part of Black's record. Both in his opening address and in subsequent correspondence with Black, Patman suggested thirty joint debates over the course of the campaign. Black initially agreed to the challenge. Black also refuted Patman's assaults on his record in newspaper advertisements and in the *Congressional Record*, but Patman stood his ground: "You have accused me of being unfair in my speeches . . . . If I am unfair, the Congressional Record is unfair as I am quoting from that record . . . . Since you charge me with misquoting your record, which I deny, I feel that fairness demands that you meet me in joint discussion and let the people be the judge of which of us has misquoted the record. If you fail to meet me, I shall take your failure as an admission of the charges and will so contend to the voters of this district." Patman then made the contents of his correspondence with Black public record.

Black continued to deny Patman's charges. He compared his challenger with "a man who said that he could prove by the Bible that there is no God and then he turned to Psalms, Ch. 53, first verse and read: 'There is no God.' His hearers demanded that he read the rest of it and then he read the whole sentence and it read: 'The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God.' " Black, already weary of his challenger's constant attacks, canceled the joint debates when he learned of Cyclone Davis' participation in Patman's campaign.[7]

While Patman had hoped the debates would showcase his oratorical skills and seal his victory, he did not back off Black when the debates were canceled. Instead Patman adopted a new theme. While criticizing Black's inattention to legislation, Patman argued that "the door of hope should not be closed in the face of the young man hood of our country by letting our Congressmen inherit their offices . . . . Any Congressman who has been in office so long should either try to go higher or get down and give somebody else a chance." Ironically, the man who eventually served forty-seven years in Congress complained that Black had held office too long.

Patman's record of accomplishment as a state legislator and as a district attorney, combined with his promise for a more aggressive response to the agricultural crisis within the region and Black's failure to address these issues, provided the challenger enough space to win the office. After the votes were tallied Patman garnered fifty-four percent of the total and carried eight of eleven counties. Later in his career challengers reminded Patman and the voters of his remarks about the duration of tenure in office, hoping that they could dispose of Patman as he had done of Black. Patman then argued the importance of seniority in dealing with national issues. Furthermore, Patman's constant legislative action, combined with his ability to take care of the needs of his constituents – especially in the area of increased federal spending in the region – converted many critics into supporters. For example, during and after the Second World War Patman succeeded in locating three ordnance plants and a steel mill in the

region that by 1962 provided a combined weekly payroll of $703,000.[8]

After his first election Patman did not encounter electoral challenges until 1936. In the intervening years, Patman amassed an enviable record as an advocate for the economically disadvantaged with appeals for early payment of the World War I soldiers bonus, aid to small businesses in their struggle against large retailing units, and small farmers, including tenants and sharecroppers, and built up a sizable amount of ill-will towards his agenda both within and outside his district.

Beginning with the election in 1936, Patman confronted what would become his own version of the permanent campaign which found him constantly on the watch for challengers. Although his opponent withdrew before the primary in 1936, Patman did not convince other critics of his congressional agenda to forego future challenges. One supporter warned Patman that the mood of the district was shifting away from support for New Deal relief programs: "People are getting thoroughly disgusted with the relief idea and program, and this includes the working people. I understand that you can't get a bricklayer in Texarkana now because they are all working on the relief business." Throughout the remainder of his career Patman had to assuage challengers from the right who had grown weary of his reform efforts. Nevertheless, Patman managed to strike a healthy balance between Southern liberal advocacy for economic reform and patronage for his constituents and retained a solid power base. Part of his success stemmed from his constant contact with constituents through the publication of a weekly newsletter and frequent trips back home.[9]

On April 7, 1936, David M. Phillips, pastor of the Rose Hill Baptist Church in Texarkana, announced his candidacy for Congress. Hugh Carney, a former district judge, told Patman that Phillips' financial backing originated with "some of your enemies among the big boys up North and East." Carney believed there was no reason to worry because "the idea all over this congressional district is that if you want anything done in Washington and want it done right and it is just, then [Patman] can get it done. And that is the God's truth. You are about the only man that we have had up there that has the ability to do these things and that would do them efficiently." Patman agreed that his main opposition came from those who had not gotten jobs from the government. Other rumors placed the source of Phillips' financial backing with the chain stores, a form of economic organization that Patman often attacked. Commenting on Phillips' outside funding, O.B. Briggs, a local businessman, noted that the "people see it that if Wright Patman is defeated by big interests sending money into his District it will be years before any other Congressman will attempt to fight these interests." In the contest, Patman "[wanted] just as large a majority as possible, which will be considered as an endorsement of my record in the past."[10]

Phillips employed much the same strategy in his race against Patman in 1936 as Patman had used against Black in 1928. A Patman supporter noted that "this fellow Phillips is sure working. [He] is just as busy as can be and is all over the country in the rural sections doing Patman just as Patman did Black. He is scattering his campaign literature everywhere. He sure has some bad things that he tells on Patman," which included false assertions that the congressman's social life revolved around alcohol, night clubs, and wild parties.

In this and subsequent campaigns, Patman carefully avoided Black's mistakes by keeping up with the needs of his district. Patman also refused requests for a division of time. The incumbent, whose popularity with voters caused one observer to compare his trips to the region with the second coming of Christ, did not wish to help his challengers draw a crowd.[11]

In this and future contests, Patman relied on an informal network of political advisors and campaign managers drawn from, but not limited to, the ranks of area postmasters who had the responsibility of keeping up with political intelligence in their locale and informing the Congressman. Patman also asked that one or two friends from each county meet to discuss strategy for the coming race. Despite passage of the Hatch Act in 1939, which prohibited partisan political activity on the part of government employees, Patman still expected and received regular reports from the postmasters. Patman took an active role in the management of post office affairs throughout his district; he also kept track of his postmasters' contributions to the Democratic National Committee.[12]

Even though Patman's opponent withdrew before the primary in 1936, the financial and business interests in Dallas and outside of the state opposed to Patman were not ready to acknowledge the incumbent's grip on the First Congressional District. Two years later Patman drew opposition from George P. Blackburn, district judge for Lamar and Fannin counties. The primary election of 1938 presented Patman with the first of many conservative Democratic challenges that he would face during the middle of his career, which included serious primary opponents in 1940, 1944, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, and 1956. The election of 1938 also proved a difficult one for New Deal Democrats throughout the nation. One observer correctly predicted that "the anti-Roosevelt idea will have ... more effect than anything else at this time." Elmer Patman warned his cousin of the possible political repercussions of voting to establish minimum wages and maximum hours. He guessed that should the measure pass area businesses would close and "a large number of men will be out of work .... I am sure that the general purposes of the Bill are good, but I would consider the political effect at this time. It just might be that you would lose more than you would gain by supporting the measure." Patman discounted this advice, arguing that the bill would "automatically increase [Works Progress Administration] wages."[13]

Patman learned that Blackburn had tried to "stir up trouble among the WPA employees and applicants" with suggestions that WPA workers in the First Congressional District received lower than average wages. Patman requested that the agency see to it that various job applicants be accommodated. Sam Rayburn, a powerful Democratic congressman from nearby Bonham, Texas, also solicited aid from the WPA for his friend Patman. "Wright Patman, one of the best Administration supporters here and one of our ablest fellows, has developed opposition. They are trying to tell that people in Dallas get higher wages than they do in Lamar, Delta and Hopkins Counties, and I am simply writing you to say that any way you can be helpful to Wright, I think would be a real service."[14]

Long and Wortham, a law firm located in Paris with investments in chain stores, encouraged and financed Blackburn's race. Patman knew that Long and

Wortham represented the Dallas-based Texas Power and Light and the cotton seed mills, so he was not surprised to learn of their opposition to his reelection. Yet Blackburn's charges that Patman was not supportive of WPA workers indicated the challenger's attempts to position himself as endorsing the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. A Patman strategist told the congressman that Blackburn risked alienating his financial backers: "Blackburn claims to be with the Administration in certain parts of its program, but the men who are actively aligned with him are known to oppose the Administration Program and that would indicate they are anti-Administration ... . Some direct questions publicly issued would probably put him on the spot with his own hometown citizens, because he would be afraid to antagonize his backers, or his voting friends."[15]

Patman asked the administration for help with his campaign because of the various outside business interests working against him. He believed he could handle criticisms of his vote for the wage-and-hour bill but asked that the president write a letter explaining the rationale behind the WPA wage scale. Patman told Agriculture Secretary Henry A. Wallace that the secretary of the Texas Cotton Ginners Association had made speeches for Blackburn that were critical of his actions in Congress and of administration agricultural policy. "He used lots of sarcasm and ridicule in his speeches, all intended to try to break down the Government's program. He is also trying to arouse the farmers against the Administration on account of the wage and hour bill, and me particularly because I voted for it. Possibly it would be a good idea for you to get up two or three meetings in this District and get someone to address the people." The Agricultural Department agreed to such a plan providing that an organization within Patman's district issue the invitation.[16]

The administration did not jump at Patman's request for political endorsement in part out of its policy to stay out of primary election disputes and in part out of dissatisfaction with Patman's political advocacy of the WWI soldiers bonus and other policies that were anathema to the Democratic president. Roosevelt even avoided meeting with Patman when he passed through Texas. Patman complained to the White House when Blackburn charged that the administration had snubbed him. "My 'yes, but' Democrat opponent claims that Mr. Roosevelt ignored me on his trip to Texas and the administration is really against me for renomination." The Texarkana Democrat asked his friend Rayburn for help with the administration. Rayburn told the White House that "I would like to have a word from the president that would correct or stop this talk. I may say that Patman has been one of the most loyal supporters that the President has had voting against as few administration measures as probably any member of Congress. I am not trying to draw the president into any primary fight but it seems to me that it would be perfectly all right for the president ... to wire Patman something. Frankly he is going to be elected overwhelmingly anyhow I think. But we may need him in the future as we have in the past." The only response Patman received from the White House was an apology that the president's secretary delivered.[17] Patman did not need a word from Roosevelt to demonstrate his mettle to his constituents, who overwhelmingly returned him to office, but his victory did not quiet conservative opposition within the business community.

In his perpetual fight with large, outside business concerns, Patman never relied solely on people in the First Congressional District to support his campaign fundraising. Instead his continuing electoral success relied on outside contributions from financial concerns that benefited from Patman's presence in Washington. In 1938 George Burger requested that all independent tire dealers contribute to Patman so he would have necessary funds to buy radio time. In 1940, Paul D. Carroll, a member of the Texas Board of Pharmacy from Texarkana, arranged for traveling salesmen to collect signatures in support of Patman from merchants while making their rounds. Patman informed other supporters in the business community of this and asked that they do the same. In 1946, Fred F. Florence, president of the Republic National Bank in Dallas, wrote Patman to offer his support in the coming campaign. That same year, John W. Dargavel promised the backing of the National Association of Retail Druggists. In 1948, Burger encouraged his organization, the National Federation of Small Businesses, to support Patman in his campaign. And in 1962, Patman received contributions from various savings and loan association officials throughout Texas.[18]

Patman's challengers throughout the 1940s and 1950s emphasized conservative themes in their attempts to unseat him. These decades were the zenith of intra-party Democratic conservatism in Texas, and Patman, as a liberal Southern Democrat, had to adapt not only to the cycle of the permanent campaign but also to an increasingly stronger challenge from the right that included racial demagoguery, criticisms of federal budgetary decisions, and a more visible display of technology in politics. A review of the election returns for 1940, 1944, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, and 1956, indicate that never more than forty-five percent of the voters in the district responded to the conservative rhetoric.[19]

Patman used caution in dealing with the race issue. While he never directly challenged the prevailing social mores of white Southern society, he did not publicly defend the ideology of white supremacy. Instead, Patman sought, with varying degrees of success, the middle ground. In 1940, Patman declared that African Americans would not be permitted to vote in the Democratic primary, and continued to endorse this policy until the Supreme Court overturned the white primary. In 1946, two years after that decision, Patman solicited the votes of his African American constituents. Frank King, a Texarkana dentist, told Patman that "in a close race the negro is now the balance of power in your district. You will recall on several occasions I have pointed out some hard looking black brother or sister and called them your constituents – such statement is no longer a joke." Such truths did not remove the need to appeal to a white constituency paranoid about increased African American political power, and in 1948, supporters warned Patman that he should affirm the state's rights doctrine, advice which he readily heeded. Despite these tactics the opposition criticized Patman for his support of federal aid to education. "Federal aid ... means that in the schools of the first congressional district of Texas that eventually there might be, not one school for whites and one for blacks; but one school for all." In navigating the choppy waters of civil rights, Patman believed that Democrats opposed to the party position on civil rights would be no happier with the Republicans but instead should "fight the questions out in our own Party." By the middle of the 1950s,

Patman used local community activists as intermediaries and quietly strengthened his ties to the black community, a constituency that generally supported his agenda for a more liberal economic policy. Patman's series of conservative challengers believed him vulnerable on the question of segregation, and in 1956, Kenneth W. Simmons, mayor of Avinger and chairman of the Northeast Texas Defense Area Committee, made it a major issue in his race for Congress, using one-minute television advertisements each night that emphasized the issue. According to one source, Simmons planned "to beat [Patman] on the segregation question .... [Patman] received 97% of the negro vote last time, and had refused to take any stand on the segregation issue."[20]

Patman was more forthcoming with his defense of the federal government's spending policies. Thus his political opponents frequently relied on these issues in their campaigns. In 1944, Abe Mays, a former state representative and outspoken critic of the New Deal, centered his attack on Patman's distribution of patronage in the district and its relationship to federal budgetary priorities. He criticized the "henchmen [Patman] has in all the towns, the postmasters, the many men that have received fat contracts from the Government because of the war." Mays asked voters "Do you know about the Government wanting to purchase 800 lots in Texarkana to build homes for war workers, and the present Congressman appointing one of his own henchmen as the local czar over the deal? How much money do you suppose they made off these deals, at yours and my expense? I'll tell you they made plenty, and don't you let anyone tell you otherwise." Six years later Mays challenged Patman for a second time, and he argued that there was no difference between the economic policies of Josep Stalin and Harry S Truman. Early in the 1950s a group called Democrats Opposed to Socialism entered the political arena in northeast Texas for the purpose of unseating Patman. One of the group's organizers claimed "there are three million employees on the government payroll and a million more receiving handouts. They're going to fight and fight hard for their paycheck .... Too many of our people have gone money mad. They haven't time to save the country. But unless they do something and do it now, our nation will collapse. We can't go on as we are and survive."[21]

During the 1940s and 1950s new methods of communication and transportation played a greater role in the political arena. For example, the use of radio and television as a means of reaching the voters accelerated. Even in the campaign in 1938 radio had played a role in the final weeks of the contest. As an incumbent, Patman often reacted to the use of new technology rather than set trends. In 1950 Patman learned that perennial challenger Abe Mays was "spending about $1,000 a week on radio time alone." In 1954, Simmons copied Lyndon B. Johnson by making a campaign tour of the district by helicopter. Patman estimated that Simmons spent $50,000 to make the race against him that year. In the rematch in 1956, Simmons opened his campaign in the middle of January on television. Patman had discussed with Eugene B. Germany, president of Lone Star Steel, the wisdom of using a helicopter much as Simmons had done in 1954 and planned to do again in 1956. Another Lone Star Steel official agreed with their decision against such a plan because "your use of a 'copter would prevent your making capital of the fact that your opponent is using such an expensive tool to get votes when he has no visible means of paying the tab himself. It further would prevent raising the question

of 'who's paying the bill?' " Nevertheless, Lone Star Steel arranged and paid for thirty-three commercials during the last four days of the campaign. In addition, Patman made an hour-long film telling the story of his life and public service. His county campaign managers also took to the television to discuss his reelection, and on the day before the election Patman's friends conducted a television marathon in support of his candidacy.[22]

By 1962 the politics of getting elected to Congress had changed significantly for Wright Patman. Gone was reliance on district postmasters to provide written intelligence reports. Any activity in which these old standbys participated had to occur away from both Republican and Democratic critics willing to charge Patman's appointees with Hatch Act violations. By 1962 the permanent campaign, ironically enough because this was the last race in which Patman faced a serious opponent, had evolved to the point where Patman's opposition undertook serious political activity over a year before the Democratic primary. A thorough analysis of this race must take into account the context in which it occurred. Communist hysteria nationally and the increasing influence of the Republican Party in Texas brought Patman serious opposition from the right in the Democratic primary and Republicans in the general election. Thus that year's contest proved significant in the larger context of the changing political landscape in Texas and the South.

Evidence of strong opposition became apparent in August 1961. Bascom Perkins reported to Patman that a group of leading citizens in Mt. Pleasant had organized behind the candidacy of Sam B. Hall, Jr., a Marshall attorney, and had received direction from conservative political leaders in Dallas. "It is a crafty, cunning and shrewd approach... . Every religious group of any size in this town is represented... . This is a type of political approach that I am afraid that you are not familiar with. You understand that banks now have a great deal of power over people, and the theory of this type of a political approach is to make people afraid to oppose them." Perkins also charged that the Southwestern Electric Power Company and Eugene B. Germany were behind the efforts to unseat Patman. Perkins recommended that Patman use radio and television to appeal to the voters and present an image of strength. During the fall Abe Mays, who had challenged Patman previously, took to the air waves for the duration of the campaign in support of Hall and broadcast a daily radio program critical of the incumbent.[23]

Hall used the Constitution as an issue to question Patman's support for an activist federal government. Hall emphasized the centrality of the original intent of the Constitution to American society, calling it the "greatest and best system yet devised for allowing government to fulfill its proper roll." Patman questioned Hall's knowledge of the Constitution and pointed out the challenger's past affiliation with the Constitution Party, whose "main idea, if any, is to abolish the Federal income tax; and the opposition's candidate was still making speeches as late as November describing the federal income tax as a communistic plot." Hall promised the introduction of legislation outlawing the Communist Party.[24]

Patman ignored the G.O.P. challenge until after the May primary. Patman supporters worried that a strong showing by Jack Cox, the Republican candidate in the governor's race against John Connally, could help the

Republican Party locally which had "unlimited time to spend on organization." One local official explained that the G.O.P. captured a quarter of the vote because "they had a very fine organization which worked hard, where as we waited until the last two weeks and then emphasized publicity rather than real organizational effort. Perhaps the vote was a real tonic, in that it made us aware of our local shortcomings." Patman agreed that a lack of organization by the Democrats aided Republican totals in November.[25]

Patman's elections provide a glimpse of the evolving sophistication of campaign organization, including the use of scientific polling methods, the use of the union label, and the use of professional political consultants. By 1962, Patman relied on his local campaign staff to contact leading supporters in towns throughout the district to receive the latest political information. Patman had a well-run campaign headquarters that operated a telephone bank. Staff members also coordinated an absentee vote drive and a general get-out-the-vote effort among likely Patman supporters. Office workers supervised the preparation of mailings to all poll tax holders, a special mailing from the congressman to union members, and another mailing from the AFL-CIO Labor Council to union members. Patman' s campaign staff coordinated their efforts with local labor leaders who took charge of distributing placards, bumper stickers, and literature in area plants and shopping centers. On election day the Patman campaign conducted an aggressive get-out-the-vote drive complete with cars to transport the voters.[26]

That November Patman for the first time met a serious Republican challenger. James A. Timberlake, a Texarkana businessman and former F.B.I. agent, made the race because of concerns for maintaining the Christian foundations of American society and cutting the budget deficit. Timberlake believed it his calling to foster the growth of the Republican Party in Texas. He thought a two-party system was necessary for the preservation of a democratic government. Timberlake characterized Patman as a wasteful spender whose policies jeopardized future generations of Americans. He engaged in a marathon swing through each county in the district trying to create a Republican network where none had existed before. Timberlake did not win, but he did represent yet another facet of the conservative challenge to Patman's power base which ultimately would weaken the ability of liberal Democrats to hold power in Northeast Texas.[27]

During the remainder of the 1960s, Patman encountered no serious opposition, but, in the 1970s, the octogenarian legislator had three more campaigns – 1970, 1972, and 1974. These races, when viewed in the larger context of Patman's political career, were anticlimactic. Even though Patman found himself in a permanent campaign cycle in the middle of his career, he had become a fixture in Washington by tending to business at home. Even local business leaders in his district often supported Patman by the 1940s. They overlooked the incumbent's liberal voting record because of the many federal projects he procured for the region. While Patman noted in campaign after campaign the federal money his seniority accrued for the First Congressional District, he also recognized immediate political benefits of his own in the form of support from conservative community leaders, a reward that fellow liberals such as Maury Maverick, who were defeated early in their careers, never received. Patman's career demonstrates that campaign gimmicks such as

the use of modern technology and charges of being in office too long were not enough to unseat a powerful incumbent. His constituents recognized the value of his seniority and overlooked cries that he had held the job too long.

As a campaigner Patman successfully employed the techniques of the challenger in 1928 by starting the race early, repeatedly questioning the incumbent's record while stating his desire to avoid character assassination, and soliciting the support of likely constituencies both within and outside the district. As an incumbent, Patman did everything possible to prevent defeat by a challenger. In so doing he used many of the same strategies as conservative Democrats from the South, thus illustrating that in congressional politics sometimes greater differences exist between incumbents and challengers than between liberals and conservatives. He worked hard to keep up his relations with the district's voters and community and political leaders. The wily Texan formed a tight clique among the postmasters and other patronage recipients who helped him navigate the waters of the permanent campaign he endured from the political right.

The development of the Republican Party in the First District continued despite Patman' s defeat of Timberlake in 1962. The growing strength of the G.O.P. in East Texas has made it more difficult for liberals such as Patman to achieve power. In reviewing Patman's various campaigns between 1928 and 1974, elements of both change and continuity exist. The greatest change is that of challenger to incumbent, while evidence of continuity predominates when comparing Patman's permanent campaign with more recent elections.

NOTES

[1]Political scientists have been quick to recognize the correlation between constituent services and electoral success. See Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts*, (Boston and Toronto, 1978); Glenn R. Parker, *Homeward Bound: Explaining Changes in Congressional Behavior*, (Pittsburgh, 1986); John R. Johannes, *To Serve the People: Congress and Constituency Service*, (Lincoln and London, 1984); Morris P. Fiorina and David Rohde, eds., *Home Style and Washington Work: Studies of Congressional Politics*, (Ann Arbor, 1989); Morris P. Fiorina, *Congress: Keystone of the Washington Establishment*, 2nd ed., (New Haven and London, 1989).

A growing body of literature examines the relationship between members of Congress and the electoral process. See Linda L. Fowler and Robert D. McClure, *Political Ambition: Who Decides to Run for Congress*, (New Haven and London, 1989); Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, (Boston and Toronto, 1983); Louis Sandy Maisel, *From Obscurity to Oblivion: Running in the Congressional Primary*, (Knoxville, 1982); Thomas E. Mann, *Unsafe at Any Margin*, (Washington, D.C., 1978); Bruce E. Cain, John Ferejohn, Morris Fiorina, *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*, (Cambridge, 1987); Burdett Loomis, *The New American Politician: Ambition, Entrepreneurship, and the Changing Face of Political Life*, (New York, 1988); Hedrick Smith, *The Power Game: How Washington Works*, (New York, 1988).

While indispensable for understanding the process of elections in the modern Congress, these and other works give little attention to the precedent setting behavior of earlier elections and congressmen. On this question, historians must fill the gap. Work has been done in the way of studying individual members of the U.S. House whose careers had greater national impact. See Bruce J. Dierenfield, *Keeper of the Rules: Congressman Howard W. Smith of Virginia*, (Charlottesville, 1987); D.B. Hardeman and Donald C. Bacon, *Rayburn: A Biography*, (Austin 1987); Ingrid Winther Scobie, *Center Stage: Helen Gahagan Douglas*, (New York and Oxford, 1992); Charles V. Hamilton, *Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.: The Political Biography of an American Dilemma*, (New York, 1991); Anthony Champagne, *Congressman Sam Rayburn*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1984). However a far greater number of congressmen lack scholarly consideration.

[2]*Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, (Washington, D.C., 1928), p. 704; Transcript, Wright Patman Oral History Interview, 8/11/72, by Joe B. Frantz, pp. 21-24, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas. Hereinafter, Patman will be abbreviated WP. Unless otherwise indicated all primary source material came from the Patman Papers, Lyndon B. Johnson Library.

[3]Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America*, (New York, 1976), pp. 174, 331, 559-560; Announcement of J.H. Davis, 6/6/22, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files Eugene Black – Cyclone Davis Campaign 1922," Box 77A; WP to J.H. "Cyclone" Davis, 12/17/27, in "Davis, Hon. J.H. (Cyclone) File #1," Box 45A.

[4]Atticus Webb to WP, 4/14/27, in "Women's Suffrage, Prohibition and Child Labor;" Wayne B. Wheeler to WP, 4/16/27, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files, Special Correspondence, 1928;" W.N. Blanton to WP, 7/23/27, in "Railroad Esch Cummins Federal Control, War Contractors;" Royal C. Johnson to WP, 7/30/27, in "Soldiers Adjusted Compensation and American Veterans;" Frank Morrison to WP, 8/1/27; H.A. Colman to WP, 8/1/27, both in "Mr. Patman's Political Files, Special Correspondence, 1928," all in Box 77A. For an idea of the way in which Patman continued this trend see the correspondence files in Boxes 77C, 78C, 79A, and 79B.

[5]WP to Davis, 1/5/28, in "Davis, Hon. J.H. (Cyclone) File #1," Box 45A. For further information see files in Box 76C. *Dallas Morning News*, 7/25/28; WP Diary, 1928, Box 1705.

[6]Connor W. Patman Interview, by author, 7/13/93; Dale Farmer Interview, by author, 7/11/93; Ruby Neil Hart Interview, by author, 7/15/93; Craig Hines, "Wright Patman, the Dean of Capitol Hill," *Houston Chronicle Texas Magazine* (11/18/73): pp. 12, 25; WP OH, 8/11/72, p. 23; WP to H.A. O'Neal, 2/13/28, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files, Special Correspondence, 1928," Box 77A; See form letter from WP, 2/15/28; "Important Political Information," both in "Political Calendars (1928-1930-1932-1934-1936-1938-1940-1942)," Box 72A.

[7]WP to Eugene Black, 3/1/28, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files, Special Correspondence, 1928," Box 77A; *Naples Monitor*, 3/30/28, 6/8/28; *Congressional Record*, 70th Congress, 1st session, 5/23/28, pp. 9606-9607; WP to Black, 4/6/28; Black to WP, 4/14/28, both in "Mr. Patman's Political Files, Special Correspondence, 1928," Box 77A.

[8]*Dallas Morning News*, 6/10/28; *Naples Monitor*, 6/15/28; *Jefferson Journal*, 7/24/28; WP Scrapbooks, #46, #51; *Dallas Morning News* 6/22/52; J.Q. Mahaffey Interview, by author, 8/17/93.

[9]J.A.R. Moseley to WP, 5/20/36, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1936 (General File)," Box 77B.

[10]Hugh Carney to WP, 4/9/36, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1936 (Special File) #2," Box 77B; *Austin American*, 4/28/53; WP to Moseley, 4/9/36; William S. James to WP, 4/10/36; O.B. Briggs to WP, 6/7/36, all in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1936 (Special File) #2," Box 77B; WP to Henry Humphrey, 5/22/36, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1936 (Newspaper Announcement)," Box 81C.

[11]C.P. Johnson quoted in Briggs to WP, 5/15/36, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1936 David Phillips – Opponent;" Elmer Patman to WP, 6/13/36, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1936 (Special File) #2," both in Box 77B.

[12]See WP to Carney, 6/6/36, both in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1936 (General File)," Box 77B; W.E. McClintock to WP, 3/2/40; WP to McClintock, 3/4/40; both in "Waters, Richard G. File #1," Box 78C; James R. Eccles, *The Hatch Act and the American Bureaucracy*, (New York, 1981); W.L. Nelson to WP, 3/4/40, in "Waters, Richard G. File #1," Box 78C; Myron Blalock to WP, 5/6/46, in "Politics – Contributors – 1946 (Postmasters – First Congressional District – Furnished by Myron Blalock)," Box 82A.

[13]I.E. Gross to Sam Rayburn, 1/15/38, in "1939 Politics District and Texas," Sam Rayburn Papers, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas; Elmer Patman to WP, 5/9/38; WP to R.H. Foster, 6/17/38, both in "Patman's Political File – 1938," Box 77C.

[14]WP to Gus W. Thomasson, 5/13/38; Rayburn to Thomasson, 5/13/38, both in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1938 (Special Correspondence)," Box 77C.

[15]Russell Chaney to WP, 5/6/38; WP to Chaney, 5/9/38, both in "Patman's Political File – 1938," Box 77C.

[16]WP to Marvin H. McIntyre, 6/6/38; WP to Henry A. Wallace, 6/6/38; Paul H. Appleby to WP, 6/15/38, all in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1938 (Special Correspondence)," Box 77C.

[17]WP to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 7/15/38, in "President's Personal File 3982 Wright Patman," Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York; Rayburn to McIntyre, 7/15/38; McIntyre to WP, 7/17/38, both in "PPF 3982 Patman," Roosevelt Papers, FDRL.

[18]George J. Burger to All Independents, 6/30/38, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1938 (Special Correspondence)," Box 77C; Paul D. Carroll to WP, 3/8/40, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1940 (General Correspondence) #2," Box 78A; WP to Herschel Duncan, 3/11/40, in "Waters, Richard G. File #1," Box 78C; Fred F. Florence to WP, 5/28/46; John W. Dargavel to WP, 5/28/46, both in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1946 (General File)," Box 78C; Burger to C. Wilson Harder, 5/20/48, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1948 #2," Box 79A; "Wright Patman Campaign Committee," in "[Loose Material #1]," Box 878A; WP Scrapbook, #51.

[19]"Statistical Summary of Eleven of the Primary Campaigns of Wright Patman," in "[Loose Material]," Box 430A.

[20]WP Statement, 7/12/40, in "Political Calendars (1928-1930-1932-1934-1935-1936-1938-1940-1942)," Box 72A; Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945*, (Philadelphia, 1972), p. 112; Frank King to WP, 2/26/46, in "King, Dr. Frank L. General #1," Box 126B; B.C. McElroy to WP, 5/20/48; WP to McElroy, 5/22/48; both in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1948 (Newspaper Announcement)," Box 81B; WP Press Release, 6/6/48, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files Campaign Material – 1948," Box 78C; Ben Woodall Speech, 6/19/48, in "Woodall, Benjamin File #1," Box 79B; WP to John A. Cook, 7/13/50, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1950 (Special File)," Box 79B; Walter H. Harrison to WP, 7/4/54, 7/26/54; WP to Harrison, 8/3/54; all in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1954 (General File) #1," Box 79C; LC to WP, 1/21/56, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1955 (Kenneth Simmons)," Box 79C; Franklin Jones to WP, 2/2/56, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1956 (Special File) #2," Box 80A.

[21]WP Scrapbook, #44; Abe Mays Speech, 5/23/44, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files (Abe Mays – Speeches, Bills, etc.)," Box 77B; WP Scrapbook, #46; L.L. James, quoted in *Dallas Morning News*, 11/28/51.

[22]"A Few Highlights on the Patman-Blackburn Campaign in the First Congressional District in the Democratic Primary, July 23, 1938, which is Tantamount to Election," n.d., in "Blackburn's Speech (Mt. Pleasant) – 1938," Box 77C; WP to Duncan, 6/18/50, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1950 (Campaign Contributions)," Box 82A; WP to W.W. Lynch, 7/1/54, in "Dinner Jefferson Jackson Day 1954," Box 72B; WP to Henry Ritter, 8/21/54, in "Ritter, Henry General," Box 129C; M.L. Felker, Jr. to Friend, 1/27/56, in "Simmons Campaign 1956." Box 80B; L.D. "Red" Webster to WP, 2//6/56, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1956 (Special File) #2," Box 80A; Walter M. Windsor to Don Baxter, 7/12/56, in "(4) Primary Election Expenses, July 28, 1956." Box 79B; "Panel Discussion by Wright Patman's County Campaign Managers," 7/19/56, in "Simmons TV Speeches," Box 80B; "Television Marathon," 7/27/56, in "Mr. Patman's Political Files – 1956 (Letters Written After Campaign) #1." Box 81A.

[23]Bascom Perkins to WP, 8/23/61; See the almost daily typed memos to Patman beginning in November 1961, all in "1962 Campaign Hall – Mr. Sam Notes," Box 877C.

[24]Sam B. Hall, Jr. Speech, 2/15/62, in "Hall's Speeches," Box 81B; WP Press Release, 4/18/62, in "Patman, Wright," Box 76, Thomas G. Corcoran Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; WP Scrapbook, #51.

[25]Gavin Watson, Jr. to WP, 10/12/62, in "Political Letters 1962;" Watson to WP, 11/9/62; WP to James Allen, Jr., 11/17/62, both in "[Loose Material #1]," all in Box 878A.

[26]WP to W.A. Brooks, Jr., 4/13/44; WP to Barber and Company, 4/13/44; both in "1944 Congressional Campaign Wright Patman's Congressional Record," Box 78B; WP to Oliver Z. Moss, 6/7/50, in "Moss Photography Services Incorporated, 1950," Box 75C; J.D. Baynham to WP, 4/17/56, 4/19/56, 4/20/56, 4/23/56, all in "Baynham, J.D. 1956," Box 80C; WP Scrapbook, #106; Thelma [Blankenship] to WP, 2/16/62, in "1962 Campaign Hall – Mr. Sam Notes," Box 877C; Doris Cates to H.S. Brown, 5/7/62, in "Texas COPE ° 1962," Box 3, Series 8, Collection 110, Texas AFL-DIO Records, Jenkins-Garrett Library, University of Texas at Arlington Special Collections, Arlington, Texas; WP Scrapbook, #51.

[27]James A. Timberlake Interview, by author, 7/12/93.

GOSPEL MUSIC PIONEER: FRANK STAMPS

by Robert G. Weiner

In 1924, V.O. Stamps took the first step toward realizing his dream of spreading gospel singing throughout America. That year, he and his brother Frank formed the V.O. Stamps Music Company in Jacksonville, Texas, and published their first song book, *Harbor Bells*. They also organized the Frank Stamps and His All Star Quartet, which was the first in a long line of gospel quartets to feature the name Stamps. His theme song and motto, "Give the World A Smile," became as well known as The Lord's Prayer. "Give the World A Smile," which was used for over forty years, was synonymous with the name Stamps.[1] In 1926, J.R. Baxter joined the firm; it became the Stamps-Baxter Company and was moved to Dallas in 1929.

In addition to publishing several songbooks each year and sponsoring dozens of gospel singing quartets in Texas and surrounding states, the company held annual three-week singing schools where students learned to read music and employ various voice techniques. They also were taught the rudiments of gospel singing and instrumentation. In 1935, Stamps-Baxter began publishing a newsletter, "The Gospel Music News." The newsletter included reports on the activities of the various quartets, statements of belief, and contained a section on how to improve one's grammar and writing skills.

After the death of V.O. Stamps in 1940, Baxter became president and general manager of the company. He also formed his own quartet and produced radio programs. In April 1945, for reasons which remain obscure but possibly were due to his loss of influence, Frank Stamps broke ties with Baxter and formed The Stamps Quartet Music Company. This break did not spell the end of Stamps-Baxter, because Baxter continued with the company and remained "president and general manager ... for 23 years."[2] Frank Stamps first published his newsletter, the "Stamps Quartet News," in August 1945. This newsletter covered the same topics as the "The Gospel Music News" but was smaller and concentrated on activities in Texas.

Using issues of "The Gospel Music News" and the "Stamps Quartet News," published between 1943 and 1965, as primary sources, this paper attempts to answer the following questions: What did the Stamps Quartet Music Company believe about God, and how one's life should be lived? How did its schools fit into the picture? And what trends can be found from reading through the newsletters? Because "The Gospel Music News" retained the "stamp" of Frank Stamps, the two publications are treated as one; their content is characterized and quoted interchangeably.

The Stamps Quartet Music Company remained denominationally neutral throughout its existence. Its quartets, such as the Stamps Friendly Quartet, Industrial Stamps Quartet, and the Stamps Ozark Quartet, performed in all types of Christian churches, including lesser known denominations, such as the Foresquare and Holiness churches, as well as those of the more popular denominations such as the Baptist and Methodist churches. In the newsletter Stamps wrote, "we need more Christianity ... and unity, [and] less

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denominationalism."[3] The name "Stamps" was associated with quality and excellence, and it was said that "anyone can have a big crowd, [if a Stamps Quartet is singing]".[4]

Stamps' company promoted belief in the Bible and Jesus Christ as the ultimate answer for those who lived their lives in fear.[5] Readers of the newsletter were told that those who "put God first will live well,"[6] while world philosophies were "thoroughly bad" and could never produce a "great man." Tools of Satan, such as liquor and roadhouses, were condemned, and readers were admonished to take a stand against such temptations and ideas. Jesus was portrayed as the cure for all worldly evils, able to free anyone from the "poison of the world."[7] Few denominations would have disagreed with such doctrinal stands. So, Stamps' Company could serve a large population of consumers, which translated into business from many Christians from all denominations.

The Stamps Quartet Music Company fit in well with the American conservative mindset of the 1940s and 1950s. It viewed itself as a company in the mainstream of the American Christian tradition. The company argued that if it were not for its churches, America would not be the "land of the free and the home of the brave." The newsletter advised readers to "keep America as Christian as possible," and to go back to the "old paths of decency and honor."[8] The company was elitist in its orientation; it believed that the "best people on earth are church people" and that to associate with such people would bring financial rewards. Stamps claimed that those who could sing and play gospel songs (the Stamps way), and had successful business dealings, owed their success, in part, to their gospel music.[9]

Another interesting aspect of the Stamps newsletter was how well it fit into the context of the "red scare" of the late 1940s and 1950s. In 1949, one commentator wrote, "we are living in a day when everything is needed to combat evil forces ... [i.e.,] communism." The world was "a-jitter," fearful of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.[10] Ten years later, the Soviet Union was still referred to as a "Godless Nation."[11] The writer expressed fear and skepticism of a forthcoming visit to the United States from Soviet Premier Nakita Khruschev, and wondered if such a visit would place our country in jeopardy.

The newsletter also criticized the Beatnik movement and characterized it as having "twisted thought and inscrutable vocabulary."[12] Communists, beatniks, and other "evil people" were portrayed as enemies of the "gospel of Christ" who "required opposition" in the form of prayers and God's word through Jesus Christ.[13]

As might be expected, the Stamps Quartet Music Company believed that its promotion of gospel songs and singing was in the American tradition. It claimed that the American colonists in Massachusetts Bay were missing something in their lives, and that something was music and singing. Because the colonists' communities could not thrive without song, the first book published in America (1639) was a gospel song book entitled *Bay Psalm Book*.[14] Viewing gospel songs as a pivotal force that could bring people to Christ and church, the newsletter pointed out that "Gospel Song is soul food." It expressed the belief that "music is divine in scope";[15] therefore, the better one could sing gospel songs (Stamps songs), the more singing could affect the singer's life and

minister to others. Forms of music other than gospel, such as "hillbilly and rock-and-roll," were criticized because they did nothing to "magnify the Lord" and were considered a bad witness for Christians. The newsletter contended that it was not "square" to listen to the "Sweet Music of Heaven."[16]

The Stamps Quartet Music Company believed that it was in the middle of American thought and custom. Stamps' wife even argued that gospel singing was as "American as hot dogs and apple pie."[17] Although he oversaw and controlled all aspects of the business, Stamps paid lipservice to the idea that his company was a "Democratic organization for the people by the people."[18]

Stamps took more pride in his Stamps Quartet School of Music than in any other aspect of his organization. The school was held during three weeks each year, usually beginning the first week of June. Every year the school ended with an all-night radio broadcast which Stamps called the "longest uninterrupted musical broadcast in history."[19] As many as 7,000 people attended the annual event. The school's motto was "Not the original but the BIGGEST and BEST" in the land.[20] Stamps believed there were many reasons for this. He continually argued that his school had the "best bunch" of students and the finest faculty in the world.[21] He stated that parents could send their children to the school "with confidence" that they would be looked after as if "they were our own."[22] The school had an appeal for students ranging in age from six to eighty, and prospective students were encouraged to come "if they know little or much" about music.[23]

Stamps felt that learning the rudiments of gospel songs, by attending his school, helped "people follow the right course in life" and introduced them to the "right kind of people."[24] In an attempt to increase enrollment, Stamps admonished his readers, "We need you and you need Gospel singing."[25] He genuinely believed that gospel singing was the answer to many of society's problems.[26] The school was successful for a time, due primarily to the personal attention Stamps gave his students; they "all loved him."[27] Stamps' school did influence many people; one writer states that the singing schools had a "tremendous impact on the voices and minds of youngsters... ."[28]

Students could attend Stamps' for $12.50, which covered tuition and books. Private lessons could be arranged for an extra fee, and room-and-board for the three weeks cost less than $100.00. One marketing technique that Stamps tried was a contest in which "everyone could come out a winner." A prospective student could attend the school free of charge for tuition and books if he/she could sell 100 subscriptions to the "Stamps Quartet News." If the goal of 100 subscriptions was not reached, the student was given credit for the number sold toward tuition and books. This contest was begun in 1947 and continued into the 1950s.

In 1946, the Stamps Quartet School of Music had its best attendance, 1,171 students. By 1950 only about 500 students were attending the school. In the mid 1950s, Stamps knew enrollments were declining, so for 1956 his slogan was "lets make it a thousand."[29] However, 1956 brought not 1000 students but the usual 500. In 1958, Stamps begged each student to come back the following year and to bring "half a dozen [with you]."[30] In 1959, Stamps stopped quoting exact attendance figures and the number of students in attendance was referred to as a "little less than last year," or just "under 500."[31]

Stamps still referred to every school and student body as the finest there ever was, but a degree of melancholy crept into his columns. He expressed fear that unless "we teach children to sing ... it will die with this generation."[32] In light of declining enrollments, it seems as though this fear was justified. Singing schools were on the way out. Even the all-night broadcast seemed to go downhill. By 1963, what had begun as a localized event that could command a large attendance had become a parody. Stamps had to bring in famous groups such as the Blackwood Brothers and the Speer Family to get people to attend the all-night broadcasts.

Stamps was always boastful of his music company. Columns and ads in the newsletter pointed out that the Stamps name was known to "thousands" throughout America and that vast numbers of people bought Stamps' products.[33] His idealism was especially revealed in the publication of the Stamps song books, usually three or four annually. Year after year song books *Gospel Bells*, *Gospel Echoes*, and *Heavens Echoes*, among others, were described as the "best books ever made by anybody." The "Stamps Quartet News" pushed its readers to buy the song books, pointing out that "every time you buy a Stamps Quartet Music book you are helping with a great work."[34] Stamps told his readers they should only buy books published and printed by the Stamps Quartet Music Company. Doubtless, the greatest effect of people buying the songbooks was to enlarge the banks accounts of the Stamps Quartet Music Company. In this sense, the Stamps Quartet Music Company fit into the traditional mold of a business in a capitalistic environment. The impression given by Stamps' writings and advertisements is that he equated bigger with

Frank Stamps

better, whether the topic was a convention, church service, school attendance, record sales, or book sales. This, too, is in line with the traditional American mindset that quantity equals quality.

Stamps' writings seem to reflect a feeling that he was not well liked. This was partially true, but most of it seems to have been a product of his personal phobias. In 1943 he was accused of singing and promoting songs which would send "souls to hell." This music was called the "Devil's Music" disguised as church music. To this Stamps responded thoughtfully and objectively. He pointed out that the Devil should not have all the "GOOD tunes," and that it is the "words which make the song and not the tune."[35] While this criticism was well documented, other instances of so-called criticism claimed by Stamps were not. When he began his newsletter, he told his readers that a certain music magazine did "NOT LIKE ME." The reason he gave was that his company was "growing by leaps and bounds" and was the "fastest growing organization of its kind the world had ever known ... ."[36] Subsequent claims of persecution were a little less specific. Stamps pointed out that "our kind of gospel singing has taken quite a beating in the past ten years ... [and] the name STAMPS is poison to some people."[37] He claimed that people were jealous of the Stamps style and that, because they could not sing it, they condemned him.[38] While Stamps gave no specifics as to who was persecuting him, perhaps he saw his previous associate, J.R. Baxter, as the enemy. This, however, is pure speculation.

The Stamps' form of gospel music was on the decline, and Stamps knew that gospel music as he knew it was dying. His newsletter reflects an awareness that something was happening, but the writers never came out and said what it was. One writer referred to a "present trend" that was affecting gospel music in a negative way, without discussing what that trend was.[39] By the early 1960s something was obviously wrong with the Stamps organization. The "Stamps Quartet News" was shorter, having gone from approximately twenty pages to between ten and fifteen pages. It had fewer pictures, and later issues were not as "slick" as the earlier ones. Despite its emphasis on doing everything for the cause of Christ, the Stamps Quartet Music Company was a business, and it had to function as a business. In May 1965, due to the death of Frank Stamps and declining subscriptions, "Stamps Quartet News" joined with two other gospel newsletters, "The Vaughn Family Visitor" and "Skylite Hi Lites," to form the "Gospel Music Hi Lites." This paper carried a tribute to Frank Stamps in its first issue.

Frank Stamps has been referred to as one of the "fathers of gospel music."[41] Whether this is true or not is debatable. What is evident, however, is that Frank Stamps and the Stamps Quartet Music Company certainly did do a great deal to promote singing, teaching, and listening to gospel music. In this sense Frank Stamps and his "Stamps Quartet News" made an important contribution to American musical history.

NOTES

[1]Mrs. Frank Stamps, *Biography of Frank Stamps* (unpublished manuscript, Southwest Collection, Texas Tech University c. 1965) p. 8.

[2]Lois S. Blackwell *The Wings of a Dove: The Story of Gospel Music in America* (Norfolk), 1978, p. 53.

[3]"Stamps Quartet News," 9 #9 (April 1954), p. 3.

[4]"Gospel Music News," 9 #12 (August 1943), p. 3.

[5]"Stamps Quartet News," 11 #9 (April 1956), p. 6.

[6]"Stamps Quartet News," 1 #9 (April 1946), p. 8.

[7]"Stamps Quartet News," 2 #9 (April 1947), p. 4; "Gospel Music News," 9 #12 (August 1943), p. 3; "Stamps Quartet News," 2 #6 (April 1947), p. 4.

[8]"Gospel Music News," 9 #10 (June 1943), p. 2; "Gospel Music News," 10 #4 (December 1943), p. 2.

[9]"Gospel Music News," 9 #10 (June 1943), p. 2; "Stamps Quartet News," 9 #1 (April 1954), p. 3.

[10]"Stamps Quartet News," 4 #12 (July 1949), p. 2.

[11]"Stamps Quartet News," 15 #2 (November 1959), p. 2.

[12]"Stamps Quartet News," 15 #9 (September 1960), p. 7.

[13]"Stamps Quartet News," 14 #9 (April 1959), p. 11; "Stamps Quartet News," 15 #9 (September 1960), p. 7.

[14]"Stamps Quartet News," 13 #1 (August 1957), p. 5.

[15]"Gospel Music News," 9 #12 (August 1943), p. 2; "Stamps Quartet News," 14 #10 (May 1959), p. 5.

[16]"Stamps Quartet News," 4 #12 (July 1949), p. 2; "Stamps Quartet News," 14 #9 (April 1959), p. 6.

[17]"Stamps Quartet News," 1 #1 (August 1945), p. 2.

[18]"Stamps Quartet News," 9 #9 (April 1954), p. 3.

[19]"Stamps Quartet News," 5 #11 (June 1950), p. 2.

[20]"Stamps Quartet News," 5 #8 (March 1950), p. 4.

[21]"Stamps Quartet News," 5 #10 (May 1950), p. 2.; "Stamps Quartet News," 5 #12 (July 1959), p. 2.

[22]"Stamps Quartet News," 5 #8 (March 1950), p. 2.

[23]"Stamps Quartet News," 6 #5 (December 1950), p. 2.

[24]"Gospel Music News," 9 #10 (June 1943), p. 3.

[25]"Stamps Quartet News," 5 #11 (June 1950), p. 2; "Stamps Quartet News," 8 #5 (December 1953), p. 4.

[26]"Stamps Quartet News," 13 #11 (June 1958), p. 2.

[27]Mrs. Frank Stamps, *Biography of Frank Stamps*, p. 10.

[28]Douglas Green, *Country Roots*, (New York) 1967, p. 146.

[29]"Stamps Quartet News," 10 #12 (July 1955), p. 2.

[30]"Stamps Quartet News," 13 #12 (July 1958), p. 22.

[31]"Stamps Quartet News," 14 #12 (July 1959), p. 2.

[32]Ibid.

[33]"Stamps Quartet News," 10 #2 (November 1943), p. 23; "Stamps Quartet News," 9 #9 (April 1954), p. 3.

[34]"Stamps Quartet News," 2 #7 (February 1947), p. 2; "Stamps Quartet News," 17 #1 (November 1962), p. 2.

[35]"Gospel Music News," 9 #11 (July 1943), p. 3.

[36]"Stamps Quartet News," 1 #7 (February 1946), p. 2.

[37]"Stamps Quartet News," 14 #8 (March 1959), p. 2.; "Stamps Quartet News," 16 #2 (February 1962), p. 2.

[38]"Stamps Quartet News," 16 #2 (February 1961), p. 2.

[39]"Stamps Quartet News," 14 #6 (January 1959), p. 4.

[40]"Stamps Quartet News," 14 #12 (July 1959), p. 2.

[41]Mrs. Frank Stamps, *Biography of Frank Stamps*, p. 3.

BOOK NOTES

These books of special interest are noted:

He's Wetting On My Leg, But It's Warm And It Feels Good (Best of East Texas Publishers, 515 South first Street, Lufkin, TX 75901) is the latest of Bob Bowman's observations and reflections about Our Region of Texas. Subtitled "The Texas Thesaurus Of Good Ol'Boy Expressions and Sayings," the book follows in the tradition of *If I Tell You A Hen Dips Snuff* (1980) and *I Ain't Sure I Understand Everything I Know About This* (1984) in presenting everyday sayings of the folk to communicate just about anything. This is testimony to our penchant for using a dozen or more words when two or three would communicate what we want to say, but this way is so much more colorful. Some entries are repeats from previous books, but many are testimony to the success of those earlier publications because readers sent in suggestions for subsequent books. East Texans will understand it; "yankees," well, maybe some of it.

We note the *1996-1997 Texas Almanac And State Industrial Guide* (Dallas Morning News, Communications Center, Box 655237, Dallas, TX 75265), edited by Mary G. Ramos, who succeeded the late Mike Kingston. Every scholar knows the value of the *Almanac*, and every Texan who knows about it is aware of its usefulness as a compendium of information about Texas. Herein are the usual government surveys and reviews of education, agriculture, and what have you, but this edition also contains special articles on sports, Texas music, and other subjects.

John T. Hubbell and James W. Geary have edited *Biographical Dictionary Of The Union, Northern Leaders of the Civil War* (Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, Westport, CT 06881), and it provides what the title suggests: entries, arranged alphabetically, that vary in length. Each provides birth and death dates and a brief sketch for 872 biographees who "lived and died during that time [who] have in some instances become a part of the national consciousness; others have faded from the collective memory" (p. ix). Your editor wrote some of this, for whatever that may be worth.

The Mexican-American War Of 1846-1848, A Bibliography of the Holdings of the Libraries, The University of Texas at Arlington (The University of Texas at Arlington by Texas A&M University Press, College Station, TX 77843-4354), by Jenkins Garrett, is a monument to Garrett's collecting and support of UT Arlington over the past four decades. This is of special value to researchers. It is divided into chapters on general histories and reference works, political and diplomatic histories, military histories and registers, unit histories, and a wide variety of topics, including music and cartography. Given the thoroughness of Garrett's collecting, this reference tool opens doors to a superior depository on the subject.

May Nelson Paulissen and Carl McQueary's *Miriam, Miriam Amanda Ferguson, The Southern Belle Who Became the First Woman Governor of Texas* (Eakin Press, P.O. Drawer 90159), with a Foreword by F.E. Abernethy, is a biography of the first woman governor of Texas, the first elected woman governor of any state, and the only governor who previously was a First Lady of the state. Mrs. Ferguson and her husband, James E. Ferguson, dominated

Texas politics from 1914 until 1940, a time when "Fergusonism" divided Texans as completely as liberals and conservatives would do so in later times. The book is heavily illustrated and represents the first use of family materials in the Bell County Museum to produce a modern biography of Mrs. Ferguson.

Spicey Ridge and the Bear Creek Beat (Spicey Ridge Publications, Box 7345, Longview, TX 75607-7346), by T.O. Bell, is the second volume of a three-volume project, *The Story of Brookeland*. Brookeland is located in southern Sabine County, and at one time was known as Bear Creek. After the Civil War the community became active in the timber industry, then lost population when harvesting methods limited the supply of the necessary raw material. For fifty years the community has claimed approximately 400 citizens. The volume contains a narrative of the community's history, a name index, and sixty rare illustrations, many of them not previously published.

Mark Busby's *Larry McMurtry and the West: An Ambivalent Relationship* (University of North Texas Press, Box 13856, Denton, TX 76203-6856) attempts, it says in the Preface, to "examine Larry McMurtry's writing career in order to establish the significance of his relationship with his home region." Busby believes that "McMurtry's writing is characterized by a deep ambivalence toward his home territory, a vacillation that cuts through his work and his attitudes about writing itself. The course of his career demonstrates his shifting attitudes toward, away, and then back again to his home territory and the 'cowboy god' that dominates its mythology." Busby uses the next 300 or so pages to expand his argument.

The Texas Military Experience, From the Texas Revolution through World War II (Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX 77843-4354), edited by Joseph G. Dawson, brings together twelve scholars – including some of the best who have worked or continue to work in this field – Paul Andrew Hutton, James E. Crisp, Thomas W. Cutrer, Ralph A. Wooster, William H. Leckie, Sandra L. Myers, Joseph C. Porter, Martin Blumenson, Roger J. Spiller, Don Graham, Tom Pilkington, and Roger Beaumont, writing about the Alamo, the Revolution, the war with Mexico, the Civil War, the frontier, women, World War II, Audie Murphy, films, and literature. Military affairs are an important part of the Texas story, and these scholars have written across the sweep of that story.

The New South, 1945-1980 (LSU Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History, the University of Texas, Baton Rouge, LA 70803), by Numan V. Bartley, is the eleventh volume of the History Of The South series begun in the 1930s under the editorship of Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. The series' goal: to provide a comprehensive history of the American South from colonial founding to the modern period in ten volumes. But the "modern period" outlasted the original project, hence Volume XI. Bartley is a past president of the Southern Historical Association and a member of the faculty of the University of Georgia, and well qualified to write what obviously will be only the "latest" volume in a continuing series. He has done a good job. Focusing on desegregation, massive resistance to it, and finally on middle-class accommodation – the pervasive themes of the period

covered – Bartley joins an exclusive and sterling group of scholars to interpret a region that has played a pivotal role in U.S. history – as "the nation's number one economic problem" as it was called sixty years ago, or the "Sunbelt" story of success in the 1970s. It is scholarly, but with enough popular culture to interest (he even mentions Elvis twice).

BOOK REVIEWS

Backwoodsmen: Stockmen and Hunters along a Big Thicket River Valley, Thad Sitton (The University of Oklahoma Press, 1005 Asp Avenue, Norman OK 73019) 1995. B&W Photos. Notes. Bibliography. Photo Credits. P. 310. $29.95 Hardcover.

Thad Sitton has created in *Backwoodsmen: Stockmen and Hunters along a Big Thicket River Valley*, in the words of one reader, the East Texas equivalent of the several outstanding commentaries on the development of New England cultural life. I think the comparison bears merit.

Sitton writes neither in the "first-family" mode nor about the area's prominent individuals who generally capture attention in regional histories. Instead his work details the hidden cultural world of the "river-valley bottom" East Texans who experienced the vital and dynamic living associated with being small stockmen, timber workers, rivermen, fishers, and trappers. A competent researcher, Sitton handles the topic's essential secondary works well. His vital strength, however, derives from the plethora of primary-source oral histories he has collected from numerous folks who actually have lived the river valley experiences about which he writes, and a writing ability that transposes the energy of the oral histories with imagination and interest.

Flaws in style and content exist. The writing style is jarred at times by a repetitive hammering home of similar information in various chapters. The reader should also recognize that this history records the experiences and observations primarily of white males. Sitton does include enough material from African Americans as well as women who shared this unique existence that one becomes aware much work remains for historians interested in East Texas topics of gender, ethnicity, and race. The writing style is well suited for the professional historian and the lay reader.

Sitton has taken a giant step forward in not only examining our regional culture but also preserving our regional heritage. The only other regional works that even approach the significance of *Backwoodsmen: Stockmen and Hunters along a Big Thicket River Valley* are *Sawdust Empire: The Texas Lumber Industry, 1830-1940*, by Robert Maxwell and Robert Baker, and Ruth Allen's *East Texas Lumber Workers: An Economic and Social Picture, 1870-1950*. One cannot comprehend the essential river-bottom influences as well as their significance in the development of the vital, unique culture of East Texas without studying Sitton's book.

Melvin C. Johnson
Texas Forestry Museum

Flags Along the Coast: Charting the Gulf of Mexico, 1519-1759: A Reappraisal. Jack Jackson (The Book Club of Texas, P.O. Box 49987, Austin, TX 78765-9987) 1995. Preface. Notes. Plates. Bibliography. Index. P. 225. $200 for BCT Members, $250 for Nonmembers. Hardback.

You need to read this review closely because you probably will not be able to afford *Flags Along the Coast*, and it will be some time before it comes out in paperback. On the other hand, if you are just beginning a career, you might want

to invest in *Flags* for professional reasons – to impress cohorts and superiors with your intellectual pursuits, your good taste, and your financial stability.

Nobody draws a map unless he is planning for the future. The Europeans had come to the New World excited about the future and planning to stay; and they wanted some idea about where things were and where *they* were when they were looking for things. Alonso Alvarez de Pineda drew a pretty good line-of-sight map of the Gulf of Mexico in 1519, and for the next 150 years details were added to the Pineda chart to flesh out the pattern of the northern Gulf Coast. But it took a real French challenge and a panicky Spanish response to advance Gulf Coast cartography seriously.

Several times I've been in the woods and found creeks and trails running the wrong way and compasses defying the natural laws, so far be it from me to fault LaSalle for not being able to tell the difference between Matagorda Bay and the Mississippi delta. That misadventure changed the course of history drastically. The Spanish set out after LaSalle like crows after a hoot owl. One result was that they explored and colonized the northeastern part of New Spain and called it Texas.

Another result was that they drew some new maps, which is what *Flags* is all about.

When the first Spanish search-and-destroy fleet sailed along the Texas Gulf Coast in 1886-87 looking for French intruders, Captain Juan Enríquez Barroto drew a map and kept a log. The map disappeared but Jack Jackson makes a convincing case (with appropriate "perhapses" and "we may ventures") that a map drawn by ship's pilot Juan Bisente soon afterward was an accurate copy of Barroto's. This map became the definitive chart of the Gulf of Mexico for the next half century. Pilot Bisente and his map passed into foreign hands when the Spanish flagship they were aboard was captured by the French in 1697.

The French capture of the Bisente map was fortunate, because otherwise the Spanish would have kept the map under wraps, and we might still be wondering where the Mississippi River entered the Gulf of Mexico.

Flags Along the Coast is a cartographic history of the Gulf of Mexico, focusing on the Barroto-Bisente map. Through a process of deduction Jackson shows how the Bisente map influenced early eighteenth-century French maps by Nicolas de Fer and the Delisles. And he shows how the English entered the cartographic picture as a result of their involvement in Gulf warfare.

The Barroto-Bisente map continues its influence in Part II of *Flags*, which is eighteenth-century French cartographic history of the Gulf coast, mainly between Matagorda Bay and Pensacola. This section features the work of engineer and cartographer Valentin Devin, as he mapped the Gulf Coast and planned construction in New Orleans and Mobile.

Flags contains a chronological and encyclopedic collection of Gulf coastal maps, rich and readable endnotes, and a definitive bibliography. Dorothy Sloan and the Book Club of Texas gave Texas cartography a distinct touch of class with Jack Jackson's *Flags Along the Coast*.

You are welcome to look at – but not borrow! – mine.

Francis Edward Abernethy
Stephen F. Austin State University

Spanish Expeditions into Texas, 1689-1768, by William C. Foster (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819) 1995. Maps. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 339. $19.95 Paper. $45.00 Cloth.

William C. Foster has again turned to a passionate interest of his – Spanish expeditions into colonial Texas. The focus of his most recent effort is the translation and documentation of eleven expeditions that entered Texas from 1689 to 1768. Foster used seventeen diaries, logged by participants, to determine daily directions and distances traveled by each entrada.

Assuming that the expedition diaries "are the primary and most reliable source for determining the route that the expeditions followed" (p. 7), Foster systematically compares the routes and named campsites of expeditions spanning some eighty years. He has checked and cross-checked those routes with U.S.G.S. topographical maps, aerial photographs, and on-site inspections.

In translating the diaries, the author adds substantially to ethnographic information about Texas Indians, especially hunting and gathering groups encountered between the middle San Antonio River and the Trinity. Also flowing from the accounts is a wealth of information about vegetation, wildlife, and weather. In the case of the latter, geographers will be informed and amused by the incessant complaints of Texas' first governor, Domingo Terán de los Rios (1691-1692). Terán unleashed a veritable litany of complaints about drought, followed by torrential rains, snow, and ice storms. Upon reaching the piney woods of East Texas, he was annoyed particularly by the onslaught of ticks, mosquitoes, and chiggers.

The text is enhanced by twenty-two maps by Foster and thirteen illustrations by renowned artist and historian Jack Jackson. Four appendices provide information of value for biologists, botanists, and anthropologists, as well as epidemiologists. The University of Texas Press is well deserving of praise for publishing this valuable resource on colonial Texas. It has a rightful place in both public and private libraries.

Donald D. Chipman
University of North Texas

Texas Boundaries Evolution of the State's Counties, Luke Gournay (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1995. Preface. Recommended Reading. Index. Maps. P. 138. Hardcover $29.95.

Texas has undergone many changes in its geographical boundaries, but how many? Today there are 254 counties, but why do so many organized governmental bodies exist? What determinants went into drawing the lines distinguishing one from another? Will there be more counties in Texas some day?

These are just a few of the questions considered in this examination of the 267,336 square miles known today as Texas. The maps have had to change many times since the earliest, a representation of the Texas Gulf Coast, drawn in 1519 by Alonzo Álvarez de Piñeda. As early explorers went deeper and deeper into the land the picture changed; boundaries were determined largely by rivers or changes in land characteristics, not population density, as is the

situation today. Several countries claimed the land – Spain, France, United States, Mexico. The original twenty-three Texas counties in 1836 had been municipalities under Mexican rule. By 1837 there were already additional counties, the last county – Kenedy – was created in 1921.

Gournay makes an interesting study of what could have been a boring recitation of factual geographical changes. Enough history of the conflicts bringing about changes in the boundaries is presented to enable the reader to comprehend why the lines on our maps are where they are. Each county is given a precise historical resume; those which once did exist but were absorbed into others also receive attention.

Gournay, who holds a Ph.D. in physics, has proven his ability to research and to write in the field of history. Secondary sources as well as extensive research in archival materials provided the data for this work. The fifty-two maps are clear and comprehensible. Historians and genealogists and all Texans will find this reference work valuable.

Chuck Parsons
Luling, Texas

Changing Tides: Twilight and Dawn in the Spanish Sea, 1763-1803, Robert S. Weddle (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, John H. Lindsey Bldg., College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1995. Illustrations. Acknowledgements. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. P. 352. $49.50 Hardcover.

This is the third and concluding volume of Weddle's sweeping account of three centuries of "discovery and exploration in the Gulf of Mexico and along its coasts" (p. ix). Each book begins with an era of active exploration in the Gulf. This latest offering describes the massive territorial exchanges that followed the Seven Years' War (1756-63), when France transferred the Louisiana country to Spanish hands and Spain ceded the Floridas to England. In keeping with the spirit of the Enlightenment, an atmosphere of rational inquiry and analysis can be detected in these late eighteenth-century explorations.

Weddle argues that Spain failed to recognize in the Mississippi River and its hinterlands the key to holding the northern Gulf. Traditionally, Spaniards saw Louisiana as merely a buffer for Mexico and a source of dangerous contraband trade, so the monarchy failed to assimilate the Mississippi country. The author suggests that some farsighted officials – notably the Galvez and Croix families – sought to strengthen the Empire by integrating Northern Mexico, Texas, and Louisiana late in the eighteenth century. If this was their goal, it foundered on bureaucratic inertia and the old fear of smuggling.

Texans may be forgiven a perverse pride upon learning that hardy Spanish mariners feared the Texas shore as the "*costa brava*," the last unknown area between Yucatan and Florida. Those most familiar with this stretch of the littoral dreaded the nightmare of shoals, sloughs, swamps, and impenetrable scrub brooded over by the fearsome Karankawas. This small tribe made up in ferocity for what it lacked in numbers, and never bent the knee before a conqueror.

Some question whether this sprawling epic can be captured within one thematic framework. No matter; Weddle's engaging trilogy captures beauti-

fully the drama of primitive vessels clawing along unknown coasts and resolute men striding into trackless wilderness.

D.S. Chandler
Oxford, Ohio

Austin Colony Pioneers, Worth S. Ray, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1001 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 21202. Reprint 1995. B&W Photographs. Index. P. 378. $30.00 plus $3.50 Shipping and Handling.

Austin Colony Pioneers is a standard reference work dealing with pioneer settlers of Bastrop, Fayette, Grimes, Montgomery and Washington counties in Texas. The original edition was done before the days of laser printers or carbon ribbons for typewriters and the copy is sometimes fuzzy or blurred. It is unfortunate that it is cost prohibitive to retype the entire manuscript in a format which would be easier to read.

Ray has compiled biographical and genealogical data on early settlers of Stephen F. Austin's colonies. Like his *Tennessee Cousins*, this work should be used as a basis for further research. Much of his compilation was done from personal interviews, without references, and sometimes it deviates from the facts.

An example of the type of data given is: "THOMAS LEWIS GILMER, born July 28, 1778; died November 27, 1847. The above wording is found on the large stone slab, lying full length on a grave in the old Chappell Hill cemetery in Washington County. This man has an interesting family history, and few people realize that a brother of George R. GILMER, who was Governor of Georgia, lived and died in Washington County. The genealogy of the THOMAS LEWIS GILMER of Chappel Hill runs as follows: Dr. GEORGE GILMER came to Williamsburg, VA in 1731; he died in 1757, at that place. He married three times. He left three sons: PEACHY RIDGEWAY GILMER, GEORGE GILMER, AND JOHN GILMER. Peachy Ridgeway GILMER had two sons: George Gilmer and Thomas Meriwether GILMER. Thomas Meriwether GILMER married Elizabeth LEWIS. He served in the revolution with Lafayette. He moved to the Broad River settlement in Georgia. He and Elizabeth LEWIS had these children: Peachy Ridgeway GILMER, Mary Meriwether GILMER, *Thomas Lewis GILMER*; George Rockingham GILMER; John GILMER; *William Henry Strother GILMER*; Charles Lewis GILMER; Lucy Ann Aophia GILMER m. Gibbs; and James Jackson GILMER.

"George Rockingham GILMER in the list shown above was the famous Governor of Georgia, who wrote the "GEORGIANS" the book from which the above data is taken, and other interesting books.

"Thomas Lewis GILMER is the brother who is buried at Chappell Hill." [p. 106].

Published originally in 1949, this book is much in demand. It contains sketches of various lengths of settlers of Austin's Colony. We owe a debt of gratitude to Genealogical Publishing Company for making this volume available again.

Carolyn Reeves Ericson
Nacogdoches, Texas

The Chief Executives of Texas from Stephen F. Austin to John B. Connally, Jr., Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr. (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, John H. Lindsey Bldg., College Station, TX 77843-4354) 1995. Illustrations. Foreword. Index. P. 246. B&W Photos.

While John Garner described the vice-presidency as about as exciting as a bucket of warm spit, his idea was equally applicable to the governors of Texas, I thought. I was assigned to review a work of sketches on the governors, at least the ones who have died (how could one tell?), and, accordingly, I dragged my feet. Why would anyone want to be the governor of Texas? Why would anyone write a book about governors of Texas? Moreover, history of institutions tend to be dry and to rely on secondary sources, like material dug out of dissertations which is better left buried. But was I ever pleasantly surprised when I read this book.

Hendrickson wrote with a broad scope, depending on the literature (e.g. – DeShields, Phares, dissertations). Enough of the color of the governors and their ideas – or the lack thereof – was blended in to elevate the work above a dull gubernatorial chronology. Elections, policies, problems, and achievements were crafted in clean, easy prose to capture the moments with conviction. It was not that the author uncovered vital new data but that he synthesized it in a novel perspective. The narrative was best in sketches of outstanding leaders; others, the author graded mediocre, failures, or noble but thwarted.

The constitution dictated that the governor of Texas be weak, and then, too, many were unwilling or unable to lead. The effective governor grasped the problems, explained them, and worked through solutions. But many governors, instead, reflected or manipulated public opinion as they played to the moment and collaborated with powerful interests. Accordingly, with leadership lacking, Texas lagged behind; yet, historical myths continue to picture the governors of Texas as great.

William R. Enger
Trinity Valley Community College

Boer Settlers of the Southwest, Brian du Toit (Texas Western Press, The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, Tx. 79968-0633) 1995. Maps. Illustrations. References. Acknowledgments. P. 95. $12.50 Paperback.

The Boers of South Africa, part Dutch and part Hugenot, might have become one of the major ethnic and cultural groups that settled and developed Texas. Unfortunately Texas, although offering a warm welcome, had no funds to help them resettle after the Boers' devastating war with the British.

A few did reach Texas eventually and became prominent farmers around Fabens and El Paso. Most, however, chose the area north of El Paso in the Mesilla Valley of New Mexico and their impact is still felt on that state today.

De Toit, a Florida anthropologist, reports on his studies of two prominent Boer families. Both escaped the Transvaal and the Orange Free State after the British killed many of the men and more than 26,000 women. They were victims of the "scorched earth" policy that followed the battles that began in 1880 and ended in 1902.

One family settled in northern Mexico; the other chose the Mesilla Valley of New Mexico. A group of more than 4,000 opted for Texas, hoping to settle on 20,000 acres along the Southern Pacific Railway east of El Paso. The project failed because neither the Boers nor the State of Texas could fund the effort.

Over the years, the Boers moved about seeking better farm lands and new challenges. These moves, plus marriages into other ethnic groups, decimated the community around Fabens. While many of their descendants still live in Texas, the small population is not recognized as one of the more than thirty ethnic and cultural groups that settled and developed the state.

Jack Maguire
Fredericksburg, Texas

The Italian Experience in Texas: A Closer Look, by Valentine J. Belfiglio (Eakin Press, P.O. Drawer 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1995. Preface. B&W Photos. Index. P. 202. $19.95 Hardcover.

This work is an expanded version of the author's *Italian Experience in Texas* (1983). The reader will not find a history so much as a blending of narration and description in a study of the Texan experience by the Italian immigrants of the nineteenth century and their descendants one hundred years later. The author, however, does ground his themes in time and space, following the story of the early Italian explorers in the New World and later the arrival of the immigrants to Texas.

Hampered by language difficulties and a darker skin than to which the Anglo-American of the South was comfortable, the newcomers began at the lower level of society. They worked in the East Texas lumber mills, labored in the mines and on the ranches of West Texas, and helped to build the vast railroad network that crossed the Southwest. They quickly recognized and began exploiting the economic opportunities of the urban areas, where one in every three Texas Italians were living by 1900.

The author's habit of shifting between historical narration and description of individuals and their significance can be jarring to the reader. The narratives, however, of Texas Italians, such as Louis Amateis in sculpture, Oscar and Frederick Ruffini in architecture, or Franco Eleuteri in international construction, are informative, interesting, and important to understanding the significance of the group in the larger society. The author includes a wealth of black-and-white photos that aid the work.

Belfiglio argues that Texas Italians have managed to keep a recognizable ethnic identity by blending old-world patterns of family, clan, and tradition within the framework of the Anglo-American culture of the traditional South. This book, then, is more than just a rework of an earlier edition. It details a rich insight into the transformation of an Italian peasantry from one inbued to the ethnic soul and bone in a heritage of Catholicism, feud, folk magic, and family into that of a recognizable Texas ethnic minority well-adapted to the mainstream of Lone Star life, yet still maintaining its European genesis of social

culture. *The Italian Experience in Texas: A Closer Look* is a good look into a small, noteworthy Texas minority.

Melvin Clarno Johnson
Nacogdoches, Texas

An American Saga William George Hughes 1859-1902, Garland Perry (Perry Publications, P.O. Box 200, Boerne, TX 78006) 1994. Acknowledgements. Bibliography. Index. B&W Photographs. P. 242. $24.95.

San Augustine County native Garland Perry presented *An American Saga* of William Hughes, a British immigrant to Texas in 1878. Hughes learned ranching the hard way, by camping out with a lot of sheep. The next year, he began with a 160-acre ranch in Kendall County that reached its peak of 7,281 acres in 1902.

Deeply devoted to his family, Hughes possessed a fierce competitiveness and a determination to do things right. A quick learner, he balanced high-quality livestock production with good land-use practices. Working dawn to dark, he spent his evenings reading by candlelight or kerosene lamps and planning his next business activity. Above all, he wanted the respect of other ranchers.

With common sense, vision, and passion, Hughes became a real estate agent and rancher with cattle, horses – including polo ponies and cavalry mounts – sheep, goats, and dairy cattle. Letters written by Hughes revealed his impressions, thoughts, experiences, successes, and failures, his style of living, and his changes of goals. For example, by 1887, Hughes had abandoned sheep raising in favor of Angora goats. While riding to delivery some prime Angora goats for a customer in 1902, Hughes was accidentally killed in a railroad crash. At the age of forty-three, a promising young rancher had come to the end of the trail. Soon after Hughes' death his family left Texas.

What is the significance of this book? Perry has presented a major contribution to the history of Kendall County and a well-written monograph in Texas agricultural history.

Irvin M. May Jr.
Blinn College - Brazos County

Fort Davis: Outpost on the Texas Frontier, by Robert Wooster, (Texas State Historical Association, 2.306 SRH, University Station, Austin, TX 78712) 1994. B&W Photographs. Notes. P. 53. $4.95 Paper.

Nestled in the heart of the picturesque Davis Mountains of the Trans-Pecos, not far from the life-giving waters of Limpia Creek, Fort Davis was one of the most important military outposts in Texas, before and after the Civil War. Established at the "Painted Comanche Camp" by Bvt. Maj. Gen. Persifor Smith in October 1854, and until the post was abandoned and burned during the Civil War, it helped guard the Lower Military Road that stretched from San Antonio to Franklin (El Paso).

In 1867, the Ninth Cavalry, under baby-faced Lt. Col. Wesley Merritt, arrived to rebuild the fort. Four years later, Col. William ("Pecos Bill") Shafter took command at the post and in 1880, Col. Benjamin Henry Grierson, best

remembered for his daring Civil War cavalry raids, arrived with men of the black Tenth Cavalry – the famous Buffalo Soldiers. Grierson pursued and fought the Apache chief Victorio in the region before Mexican soldiers killed the wily raider and most of his men in Chihuahua in the Battle of Tres Costillas. In 1881, West Point's first black graduate, Lt. Henry Flipper, who was serving as commissary officer at the fort, was arrested and charged with misappropriating army funds. Although a court-martial was unable to find Flipper guilty he was nevertheless dismissed from the army for "conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman." Four years later, the Tenth Cavalry departed the post in a grand review.

Long considered one of the healthiest posts in the Trans-Mississippi, Fort Davis was a favorite of army personnel who enjoyed the dry climate and serene isolation of the area. Yet in 1906, the "useless military reservation" was turned over to the Department of the Interior. In 1961, Fort Davis became a National Historic Site.

Robert Wooster, veteran historian of the military frontier, has written a readable and well-documented history of Fort Davis. Part of the Texas State Historical Association's Fred Rider Cotten Popular History Series, Wooster's study is brief but balanced. Those wanting a more detailed study of the post may want to consult his *History of Fort Davis, Texas*, which was prepared for the Southwest Cultural Resources Center in 1990.

Jerry Thompson
Texas A&M International University

Noble Brutes: Camels on the American Frontier, by Eva Jolene Boyd (Republic of Texas Press, 1506 Capitol Avenue, Plano, TX 75074) 1995. B&W Photographs. Notes. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. P. 255. $12.95 Paper.

In the history of the United States military there have been a number of rather bizarre experiments utilizing the animal kingdom. For example, there were the infamous "bat-bomb" experiments in West Texas during World War II conducted by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) to determine if bats could be utilized to burn down Japanese cities, and the more recent secret U.S. Navy tests using dolphins to try to detect Russian nuclear submarines.

By comparison the U.S. Army's camel corps experiment that began in April 1856, with the arrival at the Texas port of Indianola of the U.S.S. Supply loaded with thirty-four camels, was rather more prosaic. The previous year the Congress had appropriated $30,000 to send an officer to the Middle East to procure camels and bring them to Texas. The recounting of this rather extraordinary operation has been done before but the camel corps now has its historian. This delightful account by Eva Jolene Boyd apparently covers every available source, including scattered accounts of abandoned camels and escapees in the deserts of the West into the twentieth century.

In addition, she accompanied a reenactment in 1982 of the California/Nevada Boundary Expedition (by camel) in 1861 and writes with real affection for the dromedaries. But the bulk of the monograph chronicles the Army's success in utilizing camels as beasts of burden in the West.

One can surmise from her account that if fate had not intervened with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 and the fact that only a relatively small number of camels were imported that conceivably there could be wild herds not only in Texas but throughout the southwestern desert today. Unfortunately it was not to be.

A final word: the monograph has excellent photographs, drawings, and maps.

Ray Sadler
New Mexico State University.

Ghost Towns of the American West, Bill O'Neal (Publications International, Ltd., 7373 North Cicero Ave., Lincolnwood, IL 60646) 1995. Contents. Photo Credits. Index. Color, B&W Photos. P. 312. Hardcover.

I first came to admire the work of Bill O'Neal back in 1983 when I purchased a copy of his fine *Encyclopedia of Western Gunfighters*. He has always put out good solid, readable nonfiction on the Old West. Now he has gone one step further and given us an excellent photo essay on ghost towns, a book which does not disappoint.

Ghost Towns of the American West is a compilation of travels the author has made to thirty-one ghost towns west of the Mississippi. The subject has fascinated the author for many years now, and by the time you finish reading this volume you will be just as fascinated as O'Neal has been. What makes this book different from most other books on ghost towns is the way it is put together. Interspersed with a short, readable history of the ghost town are black-and-white tintypes, many of them over 100 years old. And right alongside them are sharp, crisp color photos of the more interesting parts of the town that exist today. Most of the color photos also contain panoramic views of the surrounding countryside. At the end of each chapter are short sketches of those frontier personalities or events well known in that particular town. For example, Deadwood has "Wild Bill" Hickok while Tascosa has the less famous "Big Fight." All are well written, authentic depictions.

If there is a shortcoming with the book, perhaps it is the lack of a bibliography for all of the interesting information put out about each ghost town. This reviewer not only enjoyed the photos but learned considerable about these ghost towns he didn't know. Not being able to immediately refer to another book for more information was a sore spot.

Nevertheless, *Ghost Towns of the American West* is recommended reading for one and all, an enjoyable, readable volume that is sure to please.

James Collins
Aurora, Colorado

The Drifting Cowboy, Will James (Mountain Press Publishing Co., P.O. Box 2399, Missoula, MT 59806) 1995. Publishers Note. Illustrations. Pen & Ink Photos. P. 224. Paperback $14.00.

This is the second reprint in the Tumblewood Series of Will James' books. After publishing twenty-four books between 1924 and his untimely

death in 1942, interest in James' books languished and soon they were out of print. Recently, renewed interest in James' works has emerged resulting in the creation of the Will James Society. This group is dedicated to preserving the memory and works of the cowboy author and artist.

In *The Drifting Cowboy*, James continues the stories of his own experiences as a working cowboy in the first two decades of the twentieth century on the big cow spreads of the American West. The stories are exciting and have the ring of authenticity. In spite of the recent vogue among psychologists that the cowboys' pistols were obvious symbols of macho masculinity, one gets a different opinion that they were a part of the working cowboy's tools-in trade: "Our six shooters was a smoking and tearing up the earth in front of the leaders (of the stampeding cattle) trying to scare them into turning and milling ... ."

One of the more interesting stories is about the time James hired on as a stand-in stunt man for the leading man of a Western movie. Filmed on location in the hills of California, the movie gave James plenty of opportunities to do what came naturally to him in the more dangerous scenes. He looked forward to the time when he and his cowboy friends could see the movie and recognize him. To his disappointment, his friends could never recognize him on the back of the bucking bronco.

This book is recommended for the general public, especially those who have an interest in real cowboy stories about western characters, special horses, and memorable cows.

Robert W. Glover
Flint, Texas

Cowboys North and South, Will James (Mountain Press Publishing Company, P.O. Box 2399, Missoula, MT 59806) 1995, Publishers Note. Illustrations. Pen & Ink Photos. P. 201. Paperback $14.00.

Will James was an authentic cowboy who worked, as he said, on some of the biggest cow outfits from Mexico to Canada. He was born in the West and grew up in various cow camps, breaking broncs and riding herd in a time when only cowboys could do the job right. He rode horses in the army of W.W.I. and never received much formal education. At the end of six months convalescence from being busted up by a particularly vicious bronc, he began drawing pictures of and writing about the things he knew best.

Gifted with a natural artistic talent and the ability to tell a good story in the unvarnished vernacular of the West, James published *Cowboys North and South* in 1924. It was an immediate success, eagerly read by a public wanting to know more about cowboys and the West. His pen-and-ink and charcoal illustrations captured the explosive excitement of the Wild West.

James wrote and illustrated twenty-three more books about western types, particular cowboys, horses, or cows. He accumulated literary success and fortune, which may have confused his sense of values and what he really wanted out of life. He began drinking heavily and in 1942 lost his wife, his ranch, and his life. He was fifty years of age.

Now Mountain Press Publishing Company, in conjunction with the Will

James Art Company, are reprinting each of Will James books in both cloth and paperback editions. The new issues will be true to the original texts, including illustrations. They will be released in the same order of the original publications under the name of the Tumbleweed Series.

The first of these, *Cowboys North and South*, is exciting reading for anyone interested in the American west. James' stories of bronc busting and of outstanding cow horses are reminiscent of the serials that ran in the *Saturday Evening Post*. His art work is similar to that of John W. Thomason, another greater writer. Now, a new generation of Americans who are continuing our great love affair with the West can look forward to each new release of the Tumbleweed Series.

Robert W. Glover
Flint, Texas

Black Soldiers in Jim Crow Texas 1899-1917, Garna L. Christian (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, John H. Lindsey Bldg., College Station, Texas 77843-4354) 1995. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 223. Hardback. B&W Photos.

In *Black Soldiers in Jim Crow Texas 1899-1917*, Garna Christian examines in detail the racial conflict that accompanied the stationing of African American army units in Texas during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Christian argues that two of the most notorious racial conflicts in Texas, the Brownsville mutiny of 1906 and the Houston riot of 1917, were not isolated events but represented only the worst and most publicized of a series of conflicts that erupted wherever African American troops were stationed in the Lone Star State early in the twentieth century. Christian maintains that the source of this conflict was the antipathy that white and Mexican American residents felt toward the stationing of black troops in their communities. This racial intolerance precipitated responses by black troops that resulted in the incidents in Brownsville and Houston as well as others in Rio Grande City, El Paso, Del Rio, Laredo, San Antonio, and Waco. Each incident differed in its intensity and violence. But all were characterized by the willingness of black troops to use deadly force to retaliate against bigotry, racial injustice, and/or police brutality, and each resulted in a demand by the local community for the removal of black troops and the willingness of military authorities to hold black troops responsible for the incidents, even when testimony and evidence was ambiguous.

Christian begins his narrative with the arrival of the first black units in Texas following the Spanish-American War. Troops, traveling by train from Florida to postings on the Rio Grande, were involved in incidents in Huntsville, Alabama, and in Texarkana, Texas. Then a series of racial incidents followed black troops wherever they were stationed, from border communities with few black residents to Waco and Houston and large and stable African American communities. The only mitigating circumstance that Christian uncovered was the relative willingness to accept the presence of black troops by citizens in El Paso, San Antonio, and Waco – cities that were seriously vieing to attract large military installations.

Black Soldiers in Jim Crow Texas is well written and meticulously researched. Christian effectively combined local records with military archives to depict social conditions in the communities where black troops were stationed, community response to the presence of black troops, and the military response to the resulting conflicts. The results are impressive and convincing. However, I do wish that he looked a little deeper and provided some comparison between the experiences of black and white troops in Texas early in the twentieth century. Was it only black troops who were involved in conflict with local communities and local law enforcement, or were the conflicts involving black troops more intense? Also, I am not convinced that these conflicts were antecedents to later civil rights struggles, as he suggests. However, these are minor complaints. Christian's fine book deserves our commendations for detailing the extent of the conflicts involving black troops in Texas.

Cary D. Wintz
Texas Southern University

Depression Desperado: The Chronicle of Raymond Hamilton, Sid Underwood (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, Texas 78709-0159) 1995. Foreword. Epilogue. Bibliography. Index. B&W Photos. P. 232. $16.95 Paperback.

In *Depression Desperado*, the author is successful in educating the reader about the true character of Raymond Hamilton and of other "scalawag-hoodlums" of the era. The author does not attempt to excuse Hamilton's evil and unconscious regard for human life and property during his criminal rampage. As I read along, I wondered how the man kept up the incredible pace of lawlessness.

Above all, *Depression Desperado* was a friendly reminder that criminals, the justice system, and to a larger extent human nature, have not changed significantly over the decades. The fact is as you read along you will feel hate, compassion, and even a sadness for the way things were then while discovering parallels to the way things are now. There are no easy answers.

At times, the author attempted to cover too much in too few pages, but perhaps that feeling arose from the significant geographical movement Hamilton and his cronies accomplished. The names of the small East Texas communities such as Arp, Broaddus, Lufkin, Groveton, and others, brought a personal closeness to the areas these infamous people haunted, and complimented the author's factual concerns.

From a police chief's standpoint, I found the book exciting, informative, and well documented. A book of this type without factual reserch would have been just another fiction movie for the kids. On occasion, I found myself perspiring with anticipation while pursuing "Ol' Raymond!"

John A. Walton, Chief of Police
Nacogdoches, Texas

Fort Worth's Legendary Landmarks, Photographs by Byrd Williams and Text by Carol Roark (TCU Press, Texas Christian University, P.O. Box 30776, Fort Worth, TX 76129) 1995. Preface. Acknowledgements. Index. P. 233. $42.50. Hardcover. B&W Photos.

Sitting at the intersection of Houston, Ninth, and Jennings is a Fort Worth curiosity – a triangular-shaped building on a triangular lot. The striking architectural design, the flatiron, by Sanguinet and Staats, was made even more dramatic by the carved panther heads just above the second floor. Overshadowed now by much bigger, younger structures, this seven-story, one-time skyscraper was considered very tall when erected in 1907. Owned by physician Bacon Saunders, the building contained his medical office and laboratory, other physicians' offices, and a drug store.

In *Fort Worth's Legendary Landmarks*, Byrd Williams and Carol Roark have catalogued some of most historic structures in Fort Worth. With a keen photographer's eye, Williams has captured the beauty and majesty of homes, public buildings, churches, and numerous other edifices. Emphasizing architectural and interior design, Roark has recreated the background for each structure. By combining these talents, their collaboration has resulted in a book filled with wonderful illustrations and text which answered many questions about historic landmarks of the city. And in so doing they have made looking around the Fort Worth landscape even more enjoyable.

Janet Schmelzer
Tarleton State University

The Fort That Became A City: An Illustrated Reconstruction of Fort Worth, Texas 1849-1853, Richard F. Selcer and Drawings by William B. Potter (TCU Press, P.O. Box 30776, Fort Worth TX 76129), 1995. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography, Index. Map. B&W Photos. P. 197. Paperback $19.95.

No Comanche or Kiowa warrior ever challenged the one-company dragoon outpost established by Major Ripley Arnold in 1849 on a bluff overlooking the Trinity River in what is now the heart of Fort Worth.

Four years later the army removed its presence simply by abandoning the "fort" named for General William Jenkins Worth, who never laid eyes on the installation. Never a model for the palisaded structure depicted by TV, it was at best a self-held accommodation thrown together by the troopers to shelter themselves and their mounts.

So why any interest in the post of Fort Worth? Because, unlike most such places on the Texas plains, it metamorphosed into a bustling metropolis, also known as Fort Worth.

In this handsome publication, Richard Selcer and William B. Potter have shown by text and illustration how the government, through its agent the Army, approached the problem of red horsemen marauding south of Red River.

Architectural drawings, some superimposed on a map of present Fort Worth, convey the sense of how it was to serve in that long ago army, and

Selcer's meticulously noted and documented discussion ranks with Robert Wooster's studies of the western military.

The book will be useful, too, for Fort Worth visitors and residents who wish to know where the post stood in relation to the present county courthouse and its support structures.

Max S. Lale
Marshall and Fort Worth

Honor, Pride, Duty: A History of the Texas State Guard, Valentine J. Belfiglio (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1995. Contents. Notes. Acknowledgments. B&W Photos. Index. P. 159. $18.95 Hardback.

This Slim volume traces the origin, history, and duties of the Texas State Guard in its various forms. As the organization currently exists, it is separate and distinct from the National Guard. The Texas State Guard is designed to take the place of the National Guard as the state militia whenever the National Guard is called into the service of the United States. Both state and federal law produced the State Guard, and membership requirements very considerably from the National Guard.

The book is chronological with each chapter dedicated to that which the author deems significant during a particular period of development. In 1940, the United States Congress authorized states to create such militias, and here is where the importance of the volume picks up. The State Guard is particularly valuable in that it has served in many capacities such as riot control, fire and flood assistance, and general preservation of public safety. Specifically, the work outlines specific examples of the State Guard's preservation of peace, property, rescue, and crowd control in the aftermath of such disasters as the Texas City explosion of 1947, the Dallas tornado of 1957, and the frigid Central Texas winter of 1961.

By 1960, the State Guard gained authorization to receive monies from county and city governments, and it formed a closer liaison with the National Guard, even gaining access to the armories. The book is informative and a good sketch of the State Guard's activities, especially for those readers who may be unfamiliar with the subject.

James W. Pohl
Southwest Texas State University

To and Through the Texas Medical Center, A Personal Odyssey, William S. Fields, (Eakin Press, Inc., P.O. Box 90159, Austin, TX 78709-0159) 1995. Preface. Index. B&W Photos. P. 367. $24.95 Hardcover.

The personal odyssey by Dr. Fields is a delightfully unique marriage of his autobiography and the chronicle of the great Texas Medical Center from its infancy to the present.

The scope and purpose enlightens the reader as to the uncanny association of Dr. Fields with Sir William Osler, General Douglas MacArthur, and many other great people while the content spells out the details of the

relentless growth of this all important medical institution.

The Houston Odyssey started in 1949 when after finishing his neurology residency at St. Louis, Dr. and Mrs. Fields responded to an invitation to visit Baylor Medical School. It was the only completed building resting right in the middle of a large area of undeveloped land. Soon philanthropic money, the life-blood of great institutions, began flowing from the Cullens, the M.D. Andersons, the Jesse Jones family, and there never was a cessation of building.

A dream in the heart of Dr. Ernst Wm. Bertner during the 1930s started it all. His vision was that a great collection of medical institutions, schools, hospitals, and research centers embracing multiple phases of medicine, all within easy reach of each other, would top off many other traits of Houston. In 1942 the M.D. Anderson Foundation was funded by the estate of the same name. A large community of Houston's most influential doctors asked Dr. Bartner to approach the Foundation about establishing a medical center. He persuaded the trustees to purchase 134 acres of city property adjacent to Hermann Park. A referendum was voted positively by the people of Houston and the dream became reality. In 1943 Baylor Medical School of Dallas moved into the old Sears, Roebuck Warehouse and the school's new building was the center jewel of the new complex. Bertner lived to see the completion only of the medical school.

As Dr. Fields treats the steady march of new additions – Children's, Methodist, St. Luke's, Hermann, M.D. Anderson and on and on – he brings in with candor tempered by gentleness and humor some of the monumental egos of the mighty scientists (like DeBakey) who came to the center.

This book, although full of detail and personal anecdotes, reads rapidly and satisfies.

Wayman B. Norman
Longview, Texas

A Hundred Years of Heroes: A History of the Southwestern Exposition and Livestock Show, Clay Reynolds with Marie-Madeleine Schein (TCU Press, P.O. Box 30776, Ft. Worth, TX 76129) 1995. Sources. Index. P. 316. B&W Photos. $29.95 Cloth.

In recent years several books have appeared on early Fort Worth and the Fort Worth stockyards. Here, written in a lively fashion, is the first full-length history of Fort Worth's Southwestern Exposition and Livestock Show. Without notes to research materials and only a short essay on sources, the book perhaps has only limited appeal to scholars. But it is a good study that, as the title suggests, treats the show's history over a one-hundred-year period with emphasis on individuals who have played significant roles in its long development. More than fifty pictures enhance the work.

In many ways the book is a business history of the stock show; it examines the show's financial struggles in its early years through the Great Depression of the 1930s and from then in greater detail its economic successes to the 1990s. But it also covers the show's rodeo events, its entertainers (who ranged from "Booger Red" Privett, Quanah Parker, and Bill Pickett in the early years to Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, and other national celebrities in more recent

years), its educational functions, and many other aspects.

Unfortunately for the author, a novelist, the show's official records dating before 1942 were lost in a Fort Worth flood. But using newspaper accounts, secondary sources, and personal memoirs, he has, with the help of an English professor, put together an engaging study of the Fort Worth stock show that will be of interest to those who attend the annual event.

Paul H. Carlson
Texas Tech University

Transitions: A Centennial History of The University of Texas at Arlington, 1895-1995, by Gerald D. Saxon (The UTA Press, Box 19417, Arlington, TX 76019-0497) 1995. B&W and Color Photos. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 190. Hardcover. $29.95.

This handsome and well written book by the assistant director of special collections and adjunct faculty member at UTA is most aptly named. Certainly no other higher education institution in this state (and I suspect few in the nation) has changed its structure of control, name, and role and scope of academic offerings so frequently and dramatically as has UTA.

Arlington College was established by community leaders to provide elementary and secondary education in a town with no public schools until 1902. After then, it operated as a military academy/vocational school for the next fifteen years under four different names. In 1917 it became a state supported junior college branch of Texas A&M, which it remained (with three different names) until 1959, when it became a four-year campus. The college and the Dallas-Fort Worth area complained for decades that the A&M system held back Arlington State out of fear that the urban branch might threaten College Station. They were correct. So in 1965, a mutually acceptable divorce was enacted by the legislature and Arlington State became a part of The University of Texas system. It received its present name two years later and with the strong support of the UT system, embarked on a path of dramatic change into the large, complex, and comprehensive urban university it is today.

Saxon focuses his work on the administrative and academic aspects of the institution, but he certainly does not ignore student life and campus culture. Undoubtably the book will appeal primarily to those with a UTA experience, but it offers important insights for anyone interested in the development of public higher education in the last century.

James V. Reese
Stephen F. Austin State University

Picturing Texas: The FSA-OWI Photographers in the Lone Star State, 1935-1943, by Robert L. Reid (Texas State Historical Association, 2.306 Sid Richardson Hall, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712) 1994. B&W Photographs. Index. P. 208. $49.95 Hardcover.

Roy Stryker was appointed in 1935 as head of the Historical Section of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Farm Security Administration. Initially his purpose

was public relations, to sell the country on one of FDR's Depression programs, the Resettlement Program – housing developments for displaced farm workers. Believing in the power of the picture over the power of the written word, Stryker hired a battery of professional photographers and sent them throughout the forty-eight states to photograph the story of this new Democratic program.

Picturing Texas is the result of the coverage this state received by such outstanding documentary and artistic photographers as Russell Lee, Dorothea Lange, Arthur Rothstein, John Vachon, and Jack Delano. What began as assignments to cover a federal project, however, grew under the talents and personalities of these photographers into a study of Americans – Texans, in our case – in an intense period of their history. *Picturing Texas* is a photographic documentary of Texans coping with their environment, struggling to survive the Dust Bowl, the Depression, and a world war.

Editor Robert Reid wrote the excellent descriptive text and selected the pictures for this book. Fittingly, the Texas State Historical Association published it. Anyone interested in the social history of the 1930s should read *Picturing Texas* and soak up the personalities in the pictures.

Picturing Texas opens with a chapter on the Dust Bowl. Farmers had plowed and planted the Great Plains for over fifty years. In the 1930s, weather conditions were such that springtime northers could pick up the surface soil of Kansas and move it down to the Texas Panhandle. Great black clouds of dust rolled in and covered crops and fence lines and outhouses. Food, milk, clothes, everything was covered in gritty sand. Arthur Rothstein's "Fleeing a Dust Storm" pictures a farmer and two small children running to their shack as a grey sand tide rolls down to cover them. Dorothea Lange's "Migrant Mother" – as classic a piece of art work as any Renaissance Madonna and Child – shows the result of being dusted out by Texas dry-land farmers.

Author-editor Reid divided the book into chapters illustrating the cotton, cattle, and oil industries, migratory workers, and among other headings, "San Augustine." Russell Lee, whose photographic collection now resides at The University of Texas, took most of the San Augustine pictures and his coverage gives a vivid depiction of small town East Texas during the Depression.

John Vachon came to the Texas assignment late in 1941 and 1942, but his oil field photographs are the best of that industry before major mechanization.

Government interest shifted from the agrarian economy to wartime industrial economy in 1942, and the FSA was absorbed by the OWI, the Office of War Information. The purpose of Stryker's History Section became more and more pointed to wartime propaganda. In 1943 Stryker left the department, which closed down the picture project. The last pictures he supervised were of Americans going to World War II.

The world in *Picturing Texas* is a long way from our 1990s. Looking through these pictures, one sees a poorer and simpler time with fewer cars on the roads, fewer people on streets, less clutter in houses – fewer "things." In the pre-WWII agrarian Texas men's faces were white above the eyebrows and burnt brownish-red below from working ten-hour days in the sun where there was no air conditioning and when working outside all day was a necessity and

a norm. It is good history – and it is a Kodak book filled with our kinfolks' pictures that bring back all sorts of reminiscences.

F.E. Abernethy
Nacogdoches, Texas

Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias, by Susan E. Cayleff (University of Illinois Press, 1325 South Oak Street, Champaign, IL 61820) 1995. Notes. Index. $29.95. P. 331. Black and White Photographs.

The author of *Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias*, Susan Cayleff, became interested in the East Texas sportswoman after seeing the movie, *Babe*, on late-night television. Cayleff realized that she was living in the Galveston area where Babe fought her valiant but losing battle with cancer, and that she was in the area where the Babe was raised. Cayleff began to search for what Paul Harvey calls "the rest of the story." After much research and many interviews, Susan Cayleff gives the reader two versions of Babe's life – "as she lived it and as she said she lived it." Cayleff was greatly assisted by the medical records of UTMB at Galveston and John Sealy-Smith Hospital, the Babe Didrikson Museum, and the archives of Babe's collection of material at the Mary and John Gray Library on the campus of Lamar University, Beaumont, Texas.

The book chronicles Babe's life from her birth in 1911 to her death in 1956. Her early years were spent in poverty in Port Arthur and Beaumont. Babe was one of eight children of Hannah and Ole Didrikson. The inconsistencies began early because, according to Caleff, Babe began at an early age to "fib" about the facts of her life – she claimed several different birth years, she changed the spelling of her last name, and she denied her Scandinavian heritage. Babe's father was reportedly a notorious "story teller" and "stretcher of the truth." Some think Babe "caught" her habit of avoiding the truth from Ole Didrikson.

Babe was a physical phenomenon from her early years until her death. She could perform any physical skill better than anyone in the East Texas Gulf Cost region. She shunned the traditional feminine gender role in terms of her behavior, her looks, her dress, and her ability. Three primary traits described Babe from her early life to her death: she was a fierce competitor; she was self-congratulatory; and she expressed unconditional love and generosity of her family.

Cayleff chronicles Babe's early athletic achievements as a track and field star in high school and in the Olympic Games in Los Angeles in 1932, where she shattered records in the javelin throw, the 80-meter hurdles, and the high jump. She also describes Babe's experiences as an outstanding basketball player in the AAU league; her barn-storming days as a ball player for the all-male baseball team known as the House of David; and her athletic success as a bowler and a tennis player. The final chapter of the book are about Babe's incomparable record as the greatest golfer of all times – winner of eighty-two tournaments in eighteen years. Babe also spent some time at boxing, wrestling, and football!

Caleff follows the lead of recent sport historians by going public with the truth of Babe Didrikson Zaharias's personal life. Babe, however, fought the appearance

and label of masculinity and lesbianism even on her death bed. The once negative stereotype for women in sport emerged as a much loved, normal, sportswoman, "who made cancer mentionable and tolerable to the American people."

Cayleff is eloquent in her final summation where she states that "In death Babe achieved a level of public approval, purposefulness, and valor that transcended all of her athletic honors."

Babe changed the cultural perception of women who possessed strong athletic abilities and skill. She opened the door for women in sport and showed they could command money for their performance. Cayleff makes the case for and succeeds in convincing this reader that Babe Didrikson Zaharias was truly deserving of the title "the greatest female athlete of the first half of the twentieth century."

Carolyn Mitchell
Stephen F. Austin State University

Stanley Marcus: A Life with Books, David Farmer (TCU Press, P.O. Box 30776, Fort Worth, Texas 76129) 1995. Prologue. Notes. Index. Black & White Photos. P. 149. $17.95. Paperback.

H.L. Mencken's battle in 1926 against attempts by Boston's Watch and Ward Society to censor his "American Mercury" charged the intellectual batteries of a young Harvard student named Stanley Marcus.

Seven decades later, the batteries are still sufficiently charged to illuminate whatever First Amendment issues arise. At age ninety, the book-loving Neiman-Marcus merchant prince whose religion is the Bill of Rights just keeps on going, and going, and going.

Librarian of Southern Methodist University's DeGolyer Library, now housing the Marcus Papers, David Farmer writes a finely tuned appreciation of Big D's bearded author and bibliophile familiarly known as Mr. Stanley:

"H.L. Mencken's eloquent plea on behalf of freedom of the press gave Stanley Marcus an example and inspiration. When he returned to Dallas, his resolve would be tested by issues as diverse as the attempted suppression of art in the city's museum and the oppression of a high school student with long hair."

SMU Professor Marshall Terry called him a man of the world rooted in his city and region "who has stood for intelligence, grace, courage and culture in our midst... He early founded the Book Club of Texas and has continued to be a consummate bookman while defending at many strategic times the freedom to think and to express ideas and to publish, read and write."

This edition from TCU Press answers the need for a paperback version a hardback that in its original limited edition by Still Point Press sold for $115.

The author weaves into his narrative many leading book figures, among them Carl Hertzog, J. Frank Dobie, Henry Nash Smith, Tom Lea, Paul Horgan, Lon Tinkle, and Allen Maxwell.

I wanted to learn more about the bohemian friends of Stanley Marcus in Dallas in the late 1920s and early 1930s – artists Jerry Bywaters, Alexander

Hogue, Olin Travis, Tom Stell, Otis Dozier, architects David Williams and O'Neil Ford, and my favorite Dallas character from the period, Horace McCoy, who wrote "They Shoot Horses, Don't They?"

I hope that will be another book.

Kent Biffle
The Dallas Morning News

How the Cimarron River Got Its Name and Other Stories About Coffee, Ernestine Sewell Linck (Republic of Texas Press, Wordware Publishing, Inc., 1506 Capital Ave., Plano, Texas 75074) 1995. Foreword. Epilogue. Bibliography. Acknowledgements. Index. B&W Photos. P. 162. $12.95. Paperback.

The world according to coffee? It is more stimulating, it is wittier, and – well, it is downright the most aromatic thing imaginable. And it is altogether "documentable."

Ernestine Sewell Linck's coffee book, *How the Cimarron River Got Its Name and Other Stories about Coffee*, is one for the table, both the gastronomic one and the living area one even though its size and extent of illustration is less impressive than one thinks of as a "coffee table" volume. It's a tasty read.

Did you know, for example, why tea became "the cup that cheers" in England instead of coffee, despite the fervor for that beverage found in its flourishing seventeenth-century coffee houses?

Are you interested in anecdotal lore?

Have you lost your recipe for "Mocha Frosted Punch?" Like to have a new coffee recipe or two?

Do you know where to find a bibliography of 100-plus items of material pertaining to coffee that includes such sources as *Texas Catholic, Indian Cookin'*, and Jean La Rogue's *Voyage de l'Arabie Heurese*? It's there.

Would you like to know about – or be reminded of – J. Frank Dobie's "Good Coffee Is a State of Mind?" Look no further than the Epilogue of Ernestine's book for the complete text to this essay.

Furthermore, if you'd like some reinforcement for that argument to continue imbibing and/or otherwise ingesting those caffeine-laden coffee concoctions, you can readily find adequate resource material for your case in novelist-columnist Clay Reynolds' Foreword, which is an encomium [a rambling encomium, if you will] to coffee.

Ouida Whitaker Dean
Nacogdoches, Texas

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